Uncle Tom's Cabin *Kenneth S. Lynn*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

June 29, 1963, 35 cents

People of the Slums

Joan Colebrook

Public Schools —*Alexander Welsh*

Social Democracy —*Oscar Gass*

Shall We Pray? —*The Editors*

Cleopatra —*Stanley Kauffmann*

The Poet as Critic —*John Berryman*

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON VT
12-64 K26744 ARII-12-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Marching on

★ A reporter can't cover a story these days without risking involvement. We dropped by Lafayette Park, across from the White House, last week when a Negro demonstration was forming. On the fringes were Black Muslims and we bought a 20-cent copy of *Muhammed Speaks,* their periodical. A lot of white reporters were there, all smirking a bit in self-consciousness.

Negro clergymen brought repetitive responses: "How long?" "*How long!*" "How long?" *How long!* . . . The crowd waved home-daubed placards. Then the march started. We never saw a Washington march like it. A dozen or 15 deep; no uniform, no keeping step, no band (how can you parade without a band?). Just about at the Treasury we asked ourself whether we were reporting or parading? No answer.

Somebody tried singing, "We shall not be moved." It fell flat. This crowd wasn't ideological. Then a woman's clear voice suddenly sang *The Battle Hymn* and bless me, we were all singing it. "Mine eyes have seen the glory. . . ." Yes sir, believe it or not, right across from the Willard Hotel where Julia Ward Howe composed the poem one night, 100 years ago, in a kind of trance! *John Brown's Body.* . . . We had no doubt about our participation then. Tramp, tramp, tramp. "His truth goes marching on. . . ."

Some Congressmen, however, think His truth can't go marching on because of property rights; a public accommodation law would be unconstitutional. As the President observed, dryly, in a magnificent message, "Abraham Lincoln, in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation 100 years ago, was also accused of violating the property rights of slave-owners."

The march leaders were prayerfully anxious to appear orderly, responsible, respectable. Too much so, we thought. We disagree with a lot of well-meaning advisers who are telling Negroes, for God's sake, be patient, keep your shirts on. The way we see it, European nations had their colonies outside their borders, and had to get rid of them. But in America the colony was right *inside* the country itself, and now our colonial revolution is going on, too, and its result is inevitable.

Well-meaning advisers think the downtrodden should be orderly. Above all, they say, don't march on Congress! Perhaps so. All they ask is that people stop being people.

Get down in one of those crowds and feel the electric charge humming. Go into a Harlem ghetto with twice the normal unemployment and feel the hate and crime and violence coming out. Politicians who implore John Brown to slow down, be orderly, stay on the sidewalk, keep off the grass, are going to find a lot grimmer Negro leadership competing for control if the present leaders fail. The others are there now, selling *Muhammad Speaks* or suggesting Moscow has the answer.

We thought the Kennedy speech splendid. Now the fight starts. Not since the League of Nations has the Senate faced such a debate; not since Reconstruction has the nation faced such a challenge. The basic arithmetic is simple. In the Senate two-thirds (67) are needed to apply cloture. The Senate is divided, 67 D's to 33 R's. There are two dozen Southern Democrats plus the men who defend "property rights." If Northern Democrats supply 40 for cloture, and Republicans 22, or two-thirds (all the votes now visible), it's not enough. So what happens? Nobody knows. It-*can't*-be-done confronts it-*must*-be-done. "Bull" Connor's police dogs at Birmingham have stripped off more than shirts; they have torn evasion from the brutal question: Can Congress legislate? We move inexorably toward a constitutional crisis.

No-News as News

★ We've often thought of editing a newspaper of things that don't happen. Mostly they are the biggest news. Think of all the things that haven't happened in Congress. It's the sorriest six months' record in a generation. Almost every day something important there doesn't happen.

Again, think of the unemployment riots that aren't taking place, in spite of six percent unemployment. Somewhere, some day . . . but not now.

Or take the "citizens" conference at Hershey, Pa., of Eastern internationalist, wealthy Eisenhower Republicans who gathered last week for a two-day conference. Their logical candidate was Governor Rockefeller, and two months ago they would have reached a tacit consensus on him, and it would have been all over save the convention. Well, they didn't make a tacit commitment. "You can't nominate a home-wrecker," said one sorrowfully.

Nicely timed, right after that, something *did* happen: Pennsylvania's cool, multi-millionaire moderate, Governor Scranton, quietly nudged his hat into the ring. He's available. Of course he says he's not a candidate, just a "favorite son," in a language where "No" means "Yes." His unexpected statement came unsolicited out of a clear sky, along with a supporting Washington statement by Sen. Hugh Scott (R, Pa.). Scranton is tougher than Romney, with a bigger state, a better organization and a sharper focus. We await developments. Goldwater – ? Somehow we can't take him seriously. Just last week he praised right-to-work laws, of all things; the divisive issue that licked Bricker in Ohio and Knowland in California in 1958. Maybe the GOP death wish will nominate Barry next year, as it did Dick in 1960; we can't believe it.

Comings and Goings

★ Mr. Kennedy will be in Europe when you read this, with a "major address" scheduled Tuesday (June 25). . . . The Soviet party plenum has been meeting; Sino-Russian talks start around July 5, and after that US-UK-Soviet nuclear talks. This is a fluid moment when alliances shift and governments totter. . . . Nobody says so publicly, but a kind of competitive JFK and de Gaulle wooing of Ludwig Erhard seems to be going on. De Gaulle looks in on Bonn, oddly enough, shortly after JFK leaves.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 148 Number 26 Issue 2536 June 29, 1963*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.**Copyright© 1963 by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.**Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

JFK–All the Way

THE WEEK

3. JFK – All the Way; Shall We Pray?; Tax Revision; Water Pollution; Impressive Failure; The Heckscher Report; Foreign Reports

ARTICLES

11. The Gomulka Compromise
by Walter Z. Laqueur
12. In Defense of the Public School
by Alexander Welsh
14. John Junior
by Emmett Peter, Jr.
15. People of the Slums – II
by Joan Colebrook

DEPARTMENTS

19. Books 25. Feiffer 26. Records
27. Films 29. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Editors – Christopher Jencks, Robert Evett
Murray Kempton
Associate Editor – James Ridgeway
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Assistant to the Publisher – F. R. Ruskin
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel
Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes,
Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein,
B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin,
Irving Howe, Gerald W. Johnson,
Stanley Kauffmann, Walter Z. Laqueur,
Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

If the President proves as good a politician in the next few months as he has, in the last 10 days, shown himself a statesman, who can tell what higher roads the Republic may be traveling before the year has ended. His civil rights message, forwarded to Congress three days before his departure on a busy, but what may seem by comparison to Washington, a relaxed nine days in Europe, illustrates how fast and how far the country has moved toward acknowledging the urgency of Negro demands. Until day before yesterday, any suggestion that the federal government legislate to "guarantee all citizens equal access to the services and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement and retail establishments" would have seemed wildly impractical to almost all self-styled practical politicians.

The decision to go all the way was the President's. Some of his advisers, in awe of the retaliatory power of Congress, doubted the advisability of his recommending a federal fair-employment-practices statute, as well as an "equal access" law. But some of the more experienced men on the Hill knew better, and John McCormack was one of them. He pointed out privately that it would make no sense to forbid discrimination against customers, while permitting discrimination in hiring of employees who serve those customers. Hubert Humphrey is another who worked long and hard to get the strongest possible White House message. In the end, the Democrats' fear of alienating white suburban voters was put aside. The President, for all of his reputed cool rationality, at last seized upon the fact that this is no moment for temporizing. He rose (some say retreated) to principle. The Vice President too urged an aggressive attack.

By taking the offensive, John Kennedy may have had two purposes in mind other than the central one of doing what is demanded of the American conscience. He must have wished to make it unmistakable to the Negro that this Administration accepts without reservation the legitimacy of his grievance and is prepared to act; hopefully, the confidence of the Negro in the good intentions of his government may thus begin to be restored, just as the possibilities of further violence – though not peaceful demonstrations – may be reduced. In addition, the President may have concluded, and in our opinion wisely, that by asking for a very great deal, he stands a much better chance than otherwise of finally getting something substantial, even after the inevitable erosion of his proposals in the Senate.

The President's specific legislative recommendations will be ana-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lyzed in detail by this journal and others in coming weeks. In brief, he asks Congress to approve proposals submitted earlier this year on voting (temporary federal voting referees while voting suits are proceeding, affirmation that "the completion of the sixth grade by any applicant [to vote] creates a presumption that he is literate"); on the Civil Rights Commission (renewing and expanding its authority); on school desegregation ("federal technical and financial assistance to aid school districts in the process of desegregation"). He then moves on to the most controversial recommendation – access to public facilities. Here Mr. Kennedy points out that "just as the law requires common carriers to serve equally all who wish their services, so it can require public accommodations to accommodate equally all segments of the general public." The federal government has the power to eliminate these discriminatory practices, he says, because "they adversely affect the national economy and the flow of interstate commerce; and secondly, because Congress has been specifically empowered under the Fourteenth Amendment to enact legislation making certain that no state law permits or sanctions the unequal protection or treatment of any of its citizens."

Because he considers it "unfair and unrealistic" to expect that the burden of initiating school desegregation cases can be borne wholly by private parties the President hopes, too, that the Attorney General will be given authority "to initiate in the Federal District Courts appropriate legal proceedings against local public school boards or public institutions of higher learning – or to intervene in existing cases." He further asks for what is in effect a blanket Powell amendment – "a single comprehensive provision making it clear that the federal government is not required, under any statute, to furnish any kind of financial assistance – by way of grant, loan, contract, guarantee, insurance or otherwise – to any programs or activity in which racial discrimination occurs."

Finally, the President proposes that the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, that has been chaired by the Vice President, be given a "permanent statutory basis, assuring it of adequate financing and enforcement procedures."

Congress aside, actions will be taken on the President's own authority – actions he had been reluctant to take heretofore; such as, extending authority of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity "to include the construction of buildings and other facilities undertaken wholly or in part as a result of federal grant and aid programs." He orders a review of all federal construction programs "to prevent any racial discrimination in hiring practices." He directs the Secretary of Labor "to require that the admission of young workers to apprentice programs be on a completely non-discriminatory basis," and "to make certain that the job counseling and placement responsibilities of the Federal-State Employment Service are carried out on a non-discriminatory basis." He declares his intention to establish by executive order an independent Community Relations Service that can identify community tensions "before they reach the crisis stage" and that can serve as a conciliatory force.

But equal in importance to all these measures is the emphasis on non-legal steps that must be taken if underprivileged Negroes are to become full partners in the national enterprise. He points out that "even the complete elimination of racial discrimination in employment . . . will not put a single unemployed Negro to work unless he has the skills required and unless more jobs have been created," and therefore requests prompt legislative action to create more jobs – to provide substantial tax reduction and adequate financing for area redevelopment.

Likewise "if we are ever to lift [Negro youth] from the morass of social and economic degradation, it will be through the strengthening of our education and training services." Congress must therefore appropriate additional funds for education all along the line – both vocational and non-vocational, and specifically more money "earmarked for those areas with a high incidence of school drop-outs and youth unemployment."

The President has said what needs to be done, and in tying new legal protections to economic and educational advance he has put the civil rights problem in true perspective. Non-discriminatory hiring is worth little if there is no job for which you can be hired, or if you aren't qualified for the available jobs because you are uneducated, untrained. Access to restaurants or hotels is worth little if you can't afford to patronize them anyway. "The Negro problem" is the American problem writ large – an underdeveloped educational system, underemployed economic resources, undernourished public services of all kinds. It is the Negroes whose historic mission it now is to awaken us, by their demonstrations, by their determination to enter fully and soon into the American community, not only to what has been left undone for the least of our citizens, but what can be done by and for all the people.

Shall We Pray?

Those who cherish public education as perhaps the most important unifying, egalitarian, nationalizing and, therefore necessarily, secular force in our pluralistic society would have found it little short of disastrous if the Supreme Court had validated the prescribed public school prayers in last year's New York case, or, even more tellingly, in the two cases decided last Monday.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But it does not follow from this that one must view the Supreme Court's actual decision in these cases as right, proper and beneficial. The cases need not have been decided now, they need not have been decided in the order in which they were, and they need not have been decided on the grounds on which they were.

We thought so then, and we continue to think, that last year's decision in the New York "Regents" prayer case should have been avoided altogether, as it could have been by the simple denial by the Court of the petition to review. The prayer involved was, relatively an innocuous one, reflecting a sort of mass-media religiosity. It was a clumsy attempt to find some vacuous common denominator that would satisfy the pressures against a wholly secular school system (let no one underestimate the extent to which these pressures are felt at the local level) without unduly offending anyone. If that prayer was unconstitutional as an establishment of religion, then just about anything with the word God in it would also be. Hardly any qualification of the holding of unconstitutionality seemed possible, and the Court hardly offered any.

But, then, what is wrong with that? Why is room for qualification desirable? Well, for one thing, an absolute standard of this sort could be enforced – that is, could be made really effective in the reality of the American public school system – only by a massive effort (requiring organized litigation, the backing of public opinion, and the support at least of the federal Executive) such as was eventually mounted to realize the Court's decision in the school segregation cases. All this was hardly to be expected; we are after all capable of one such effort at a time.

Nor is this the sole objection to an absolute, unqualified standard on "public prayers." Even assuming that it could be made effective, and that, in terms of ultimates, it is desirable in principle, what would be its total effect, not on some ideal public school system but on ours, now, in this moment of transition and crisis? Though there are exceptions, the public schools, at least in large urban areas, are in awful shape. They stand in the gravest possible danger for a public school system with the objectives of ours, namely, the danger of being deserted by the middle class and of becoming the schools of the poor, the colored, the newly-arrived. This is a catastrophic prospect, and too little is being done to avert it. We need desperately to multiply our schools, to raise their quality, to disperse homogeneous neighborhood groups through the system, and to draw those who are leaving back into the public schools. Is this the time, then, to ventilate the issue of religion in the sort of absolute terms that are certain to alienate many of those whose support is needed because they possess the means to seek an alternative? Principle is one thing, no matter how worthy and valid, but the wise and effective governing of a free society is sometimes quite another.

The decision in last Monday's cases is not equally subject to these strictures. Indeed, in a discreet way, it marks something of a retreat from the New York case of last year, which is on all accounts best forgot. What was involved this time was Bible reading, Old Testament and New, and the Lord's Prayer, in Pennsylvania and Maryland. The possibilities of sectarian differences and of their classic disruptive effects are obviously heightened in these circumstances. They were present also, to be sure, in the New York case, no matter how innocuous the prayer, if for no other reason than that agnostics are also a sect, not to speak of the professing atheists who were plaintiffs in the Maryland case. But the point is that to a public which is largely neither agnostic nor atheist, the potential disruptive effect, which nobody desires, of publicly-sponsored religion can be made clear more persuasively in these circumstances than in those of the New York case. There is more of a tendency to recognize and respect differences between the King James and Douay Bible, and between Jews and Christians, and Unitarians and other Christians than between agnostics and believers. This may be deplorable, but it is so, and agencies of government, including the Supreme Court, are not obliged to close

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their eyes to it as a tactical consideration.

The Court in last Monday's cases also emphasized more heavily than before the factor of practical coercion. In neither Pennsylvania nor Maryland do the regulations as such coerce children to pray in school. But in practice, the pressure on non-conformist children is well-nigh irresistible, and in neither state is anything positive done to counteract it. Justice Stewart, in an able dissent, urged that the factor of coercion should be made decisive. He would have returned the case to the lower Court for the taking of more concrete evidence on it. Whether or not that additional step should have been taken – or could have been taken without wholly repudiating last year's New York decision – it is much to be regretted that the Court did not rest wholly on the ground of the practical coercion of non-conformist children. Again, that would surely have been a more persuasive ground to many who otherwise find the decision banning the prayer reading disagreeable. And it is a ground that would have allowed, at least temporarily, for a variety of adjustments to be made by school boards facing a variety of conditions across the country. Still, though it took the broader grounds that these prayers, whether or not coercive, are unconstitutional as an establishment of state-sponsored religion, the Court this time did not seem bent, either in its holding or in the tone of its opinion, on banishing from the public school, at once and absolutely, all recognition of religion.

Tax Revision

Though tax legislation has been relegated to the back pages of most newspapers, substantial progress has been made by the House Ways and Means Committee in hammering out a bill.

There are some interesting developments. The Committee followed the Treasury recommendations in only rare instances and apparently will throw out all major revenue-producing reforms, including the proposed five percent of earned income floor on allowable deductions. That, Rep. Wilbur Mills says, is "dead." The only change in deductions agreed upon was the removal of state excise taxes from the list of allowable deductions. The proposals to eliminate the $50 exclusion from dividend payments and the four-percent tax credit against the remainder of dividends were both rejected. Almost all the natural resource reforms aimed especially at items like oil depletion allowances, which had carefully been drawn up for obvious political reasons to affect allowances by how they were defined rather than by the rate at which they were taxed, were turned down. A recommendation to treat the sale of timber, livestock, patents and similar items as income subject to standard income tax rather than as capital gains, as is now true, was rejected. The proposal to tax capital gains at death, rather than to wait until the inheritor realizes the gains at some later date when assets might be sold, was also voted down, with however a minor reform suggested of changing the definition of the taxable "base" from which capital gains are calculated. Stock options will have to be exercised over a shorter period and stock must be held longer to realize capital gains benefits.

Some other face-saving changes were accepted: the method for calculating depreciation on privately-owned homes was redefined; the tax-free status of reimbursement for moving expenses has been extended; and writers and artists whose income may jump to high levels in some years and be very low in others would be permitted to average their income for tax purposes over several years.

All this suggests that the Committee, and especially Representative Mills, were not as interested in reforms as had been anticipated, and one is left to wonder why the Treasury and other Presidential advisers had not known earlier the general inclinations of the Committee. Fear of Mills' reform inclinations certainly influenced the tax-cut strategy the President adopted.

The bill, including a new income-tax rate structure, should be ready for House consideration in July. There does not appear to be any marked concern about the size of the over-all tax cut, and the new rates, adjusted to take into account those reforms which were accepted, will probably allow a tax slice of the size the President wants. The timing of the cuts still remains uncertain, however, since they could not take effect before January 1, 1964 – the Senate Finance Committee has not even begun to consider the bill and probably will not do so until well after the House version appears. The debate will take most of the summer, and in view of the inevitable civil rights battle that is in the offing, perhaps longer.

Since the economy appears to be behaving better than expected in January, the need for speed seems less urgent to the Congress. On the other hand, the slight perking up has had the favorable effect of making possible a lower budget deficit than predicted in January, and this may increase the chances for a larger as opposed to a smaller tax cut.

These bullish economic indicators may be somewhat misleading, however. Over the last few months steel orders have risen in anticipation of a steel strike, and this has caused a substantial boost in steel production. But steel output fell sharply during the last two weeks, and many employees of the industry can expect to return to short hours or unemployment in the near future. Factory sales are up but retail sales are much lower than expected, and in general the description of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the economy as booming seems based on very mixed evidence. As far as unemployment is concerned, there has been no improvement; the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate climbed to 5.9 percent from 5.7 percent in mid-May, primarily because of a substantial rise in unskilled youngsters seeking jobs. The rise was thought to be so dangerous by the Labor Department that Secretary Wirtz declared that youthful unemployment "could develop into one of the most explosive social problems in the nation's history."

Water Pollution

In the autumn of 1961, Robert J. Anderson, chief of the Bureau of State Services of the US Public Health Service, conferred at lunch with members of the Massachusetts state health department and promised them that the federal government would not force a clean-up along the Merrimack River. The Merrimack runs out of New Hampshire, down through Massachusetts to the sea; it is considered to be one of the three filthiest rivers in the country, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had received complaints about it on several occasions prior to 1961. Mr. Anderson acted without scientific knowledge of river conditions and without calling a conference or taking other appropriate steps, as he is directed to do by law. He was foolish enough to keep a file of correspondence relating to the deal, and it now is in the hands of a Senate Public Works subcommittee which is investigating to see if the enforcement of the federal water-pollution-control program should be taken away from the Public Health Service and placed in a separate administration directly beneath the HEW Secretary.

It is no secret that the Public Health Service is loathe to upset its amicable relations with state health officials by vigorously prosecuting pollution-abatement programs on interstate waterways, as it is directed to do under the law. It prefers instead to rely on its traditional means of working with states: Give them advice, which, it is hoped, they will act on. The states do not want to force municipalities to build new sewage-treatment facilities because that means higher taxes; nor do they want to discourage industries by requiring them to install expensive waste-treatment plants. So they disregard the Public Health Service advice on pollution, or better yet, begin small but lengthy research projects calculated to stall. Since Mr. Celebrezze took over as Secretary of HEW, the Public Health Service has not initiated a single enforcement action. That is bad enough, but it had not been previously supposed that assistants to the Surgeon General were actually going about the countryside making deals with state officials to avoid embarrassing them.

Impressive Failure

Despite the usual Soviet claims, there is strong evidence that their latest space spectacular involving Vostoks 5 and 6, the latter bearing the world's first female astronaut, failed in its primary objective – a rendezvous between the two spacecraft. However, it did chip away at the popular myth that astronauts must be both experienced test pilots and super*men*. Miss Valentina Tereshkova, passenger in Vostok 6, is neither; although judging from her photos she is rugged enough.

One does not know whether the Soviets selected Miss Tereshkova to provide a deflective cover for possible failure or as a scientific guinea pig to evaluate the qualifications of women for future space duties. Probably it was both. Certainly the experience of US industry has shown that women are better suited than men to many types of work, particularly those involving precise, routine operations.

Like the Americans, the Russians have been working to develop techniques enabling two or more spacecraft to rendezvous in space, so as to ease the need for supergiant rocket boosters. Since last August, when the Soviets successfully placed Vostok 4 in orbit close behind Vostok 3, it has been expected that a rendezvous would be attempted soon – something the US will be unable to try for at least a year, because of the lack of suitable hardware.

Meager information thus far released by Moscow and Washington suggests that the vaunted Soviet rocket booster or its guidance failed to place Col. Valery Bykovsky's Vostok 5 into the desired orbit, apparently so disrupting Soviet plans that it was two days later before they could launch Vostok 6, whereas a year earlier they had gotten off two spacecraft within 24 hours. For unknown reasons, they were not able to put Vostok 6 into the same orbit as Vostok 5, and this automatically precluded any possibility of rendezvous.

Washington has sufficient data from its space tracking network to confirm suspicions that the Russians in this instance as in others do not always hit the bull's eye in space. The existence and performance of the Navy's space surveillance system (Nav-Spasur) which tracks all Soviet satellites passing over the US, and the Air Force's Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS) radars in the Arctic, have been widely described in the open literature.

But in an effort to "protect" a few trackers located in sensitive areas around the periphery of the Soviet Union, trackers whose existence probably is known to the Russians anyway, US officials are reluctant to release data from any US tracking facilities before the Russians do. Thus, unless the Soviets choose to boast of their failures (which would be unprecedented – the objectives of their space shots are never announced in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

advance), most of the world will continue to believe that the Russians are far more successful and knowledgeable in space technology than they actually are.

The Heckscher Report

August Heckscher's report to the President on what the federal government might do to assist the arts seems to us to make refreshingly good common sense. It may disappoint some of the self-conscious spokesmen of organized culture who, cheered by enthusiastic ladies' societies, are pining for government doles to fatten the muses. It may be even more disappointing to the equally self-conscious defenders of art pure and poor who have primed themselves for their erudite protests ever since Mr. Heckscher was called to the White House in March, 1962, to counsel the President on cultural matters. They favor lean muses and fear that ham-handed bureaucrats might deprave the poor things and rob them of their creativity.

For Mr. Heckscher has sketched no dramatic new windmills to tempt the lances of either side. Instead, he simply reminded the President and the rest of us that the existing government mill is already grinding out a sizable portion of what adds up to our national culture. It commissions art works of all kinds, builds public buildings and post offices in every corner of the land, erects monuments, strikes medals, issues posters and tons of literature, and prints postage stamps. It rebuilds large parts of our cities with the power to destroy or enhance fine old buildings, parks, urban charm and amenities. It collects art at the Smithsonian, the Library of Congress and elsewhere. It sends art and artists abroad, and it levies taxes on artists and their sponsors. But it rarely does well. More often, as with our almost unexceptionally ugly postage stamps or the banal, new Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology in Washington, it offends good taste.

To do better, the Heckscher report implies, does not require ambitious, new legislation or large-scale federal financing. Congress may choose to build its hideous pseudo-classic temples and swimming pools, but a few drops of the oil of good taste and some overhauling of artistic standards in the federal executive machinery can go a long way to improve the quality of our civilization. A permanent Special Adviser on the Arts to the President, bolstered by an Advisory Council, is to do the oiling and overhauling. Such advisory groups are the secret of the few truly-inspired government ventures in the realm of art and architecture in recent years – among them the State Department buildings overseas, the Federal Aviation Agency's Dulles airport in Washington and the Air Force Academy near Denver. The good advice these distinguished artists, architects and art experts have given these departments justifies Mr. Heckscher's optimism that such groups can inspire artistic excellence elsewhere.

Aside from striving for good design, the President's advisers are to coordinate various artistic endeavors the government is or should be involved in. They would also see what can be done to give artists and writers and their sponsors sensible tax consideration. They would maintain White House liaison with the National Cultural Center, which Heckscher sees as the government means of stimulating and supporting the performing arts throughout the country. "To fulfill this aim," he says, "the Center must be more than a group of splendid stages for Washington audiences." He would have it "reach out through competitions, festivals, youth programs and other commissioned works into the heart of the nation's cultural life."

To date the Cultural Center has demonstrated no such ambitions to deserve its name or help it raise funds. Heckscher would kindle these ambitions through a National Arts Foundation. An institution similar to the existing health and science foundations, he sees it as the "logical crowning step in a national cultural policy." But considering that, as Heckscher put it in a recent speech, "the majority in political life at all levels still tend to talk of culture as if they were telling an off-color story," it may take a while until this crowning step is taken. Since the Arts Foundation proposal is already before Congress, however, Heckscher devotes only one of the 80 pages of his report to it.

There is nothing, meanwhile, to stop the President from getting us moving on the remaining 79 pages of Mr. Heckscher's recommendations. Atuning the existing government machinery to our growing need to cultivate more deeply the fields of creativity will not alone produce the golden age of American culture. But our leading artists, architects and cultural leaders are eager to do their best on the new frontier. Mr. Heckscher, who exceeded his agreed-upon six month stint in the White House by nearly a year of constructive work, has proved how good their best can be.

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months,
The New Republic will not appear on:

July 27 *August 10*
August 24 *September 7*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 14

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREIGN REPORTS

ISRAEL: *Why Did Ben-Gurion Resign?*

★ Israel is a parliamentary democracy but a peculiar one, for there are three kinds of political opposition to the governing coalition. The first is represented by parties which do not participate in the government and which as a rule vote in parliament against it – a no-confidence vote is almost a weekly feature in the Knesset. Then there are those opponents represented by parties which are allied with the nominally Socialist *Mapai* in the coalition and have their ministers in the government. Usually but not always, they vote for the government, yet they oppose it from within and never cease their attacks on the *Mapai* and its leaders. Finally there is internal division with the ruling *Mapai* itself, never publicly visible but always there.

For 15 years, David Ben-Gurion has ruled Israel. Before that, for a similar period, he ruled what was called the Jewish Community in Palestine. During all this time he has beaten off attacks from without and within, doing it with great mastery and seeming even to enjoy it. But the pressures from inside his own party, a fairly recent development, proved more than this Jewish Churchill could tolerate.

Ben-Gurion's opponents in the *Mapai* are his oldest comrades who for decades shared his conceptions, his victories, his setbacks. They have not shared his cold realism, often bordering on cynicism. They are unable to reconcile themselves to Ben-Gurion's idea that the security of Israel, her need to be able to survive Arab belligerency, should be the supreme goal to which everything else must be subordinated.

To build and preserve a state under conditions so adverse as those under which Israel must live requires stubbornness, a strong will and tremendous concentration on a single task. These are Ben-Gurion's qualities. They are not the qualities of his old comrades. The conflict with *Mapai* has been deepened by the fact that Ben-Gurion has like-minded followers among the few young *Mapai* leaders. To the old comrades, these younger leaders looked like unscrupulous competitors plotting to oust them from long-held positions.

Attitudes toward Germany are also at issue. To Ben-Gurion and his young protégés Germany is more important for what she could do for Israel now than what she did to the Jews in the Nazi era. To Ben-Gurion's critics, Germany not only evokes frightful emotions, but provides also a useful weapon against Ben-Gurion. Lately, in connection with the work of German scientists in Egypt and the question of whether this should be used to launch a campaign against the Bonn Government, Ben-Gurion became involved in one of the most intense battles in the history of Israeli politics. He did not mind fighting the first two oppositions on this occasion, but the bitterness of the feud inside his own party probably was a decisive consideration in Ben-Gurion's resignation for "personal reasons."

In quitting the government and parliament and retiring to his Negev *kibbutz*, Ben-Gurion is actually throwing down the gauntlet to his old comrades: try to rule this country without me. It may take a year before his old comrades call him back, perhaps a little more or less. But he can wait; he has done it before.

SOUTH VIETNAM: *Whose Funeral Pyre?*

★ As noted last week, the Buddhist monk who burned himself to death with gasoline in a Saigon street may also have put a match to the funeral pyre of the Diem regime. Dangerous tensions have been rising for months between the Buddhist majority and the Catholic minority; rioting and clubbing have continued, despite a rumor of peaceful settlement between the Buddhists and the Diem regime. From Ca Mau, at the southeastern tip of Vietnam, to the 17th parallel, where Communist North Vietnam begins, Catholic priests now lead their own private armies against the Viet Cong. The most famous of all is much-publicized Father Nguyen Lac Hoa, a former battalion commander in the Chinese Nationalist Army, whose "Sea Swallows" once killed more than a hundred Viet Cong in a single action. Father Nguyen has 1,200 men under arms and leads the biggest of these private Catholic armies. Even in mixed Catholic-Buddhist villages guns often go only to the Catholics, and members of MAAG training teams have often found themselves in positions of acute embarrassment because of the discrimination.

One American, himself a Catholic, described with distaste a scene at Dong Tre village in Central Vietnam where Catholic trainees got their guns in the churchyard, while the Buddhists clustered around the fence, pressing their noses against the iron grill to watch what no doubt appeared to be an ominous religious ceremony fraught with considerable danger to themselves. The position is worst in Central Vietnam, where Diem's brother, Can, rules with a bloody hand.

A little less than a century ago, during one period of violent anti-Christian demonstrations, a Buddhist mob rounded up a hundred members of the Ngo Dinh family and burnt them to death in the Catholic Church at Dai Phong, a lovely little village on the coast of Central Vietnam. One of the few family survivors was Ngo Dinh Kha, who was studying for the priesthood at Lenang in Malacca. With the family all but destroyed, Kha broke off his studies and returned to Hue, where he entered the mandarinate. He married twice,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his first wife died childless. His second bore him nine children, of whom Diem, the third, was born on January 3, 1901. When he first returned to Vietnam in 1954 Diem's courage and tenacity rallied almost all Catholics to his side. Today, however, many are conscious of the dangers his rule has created. As early as a year ago a leading Catholic told a Western observer that if there was a *coup* to remove Diem it was important that a Catholic should lead it. "Otherwise, the way things are going," he said, "we'll all be massacred."

IRAN: *Rioting for Islam*

★ The violence that gripped Tehran in early June had all the makings of a well-laid plot to overthrow the government. There was rioting not only throughout the capital but also in the main urban centers of Shiraz, Tabriz, Kashan, Meshed and the religious center of Qum. Attacks were centered on government offices, and there were allegedly plans to seize the capital's electric and water supplies and the central radio station.

In controversy were two measures introduced during the past 18 months, land distribution and female suffrage to which the Moslem religious leaders who instigated the riots are bitterly opposed. Matters came to a head during the first week of June – the climax of the annual Moslem mourning days – when the clergy, taking advantage of the traditional street processions and crowded mosques, declared a holy war against the government's "irreligious" reforms. But deeper issues than land reform and female suffrage were at stake. The government's reforms over the past year have, willy-nilly, been making radical alterations in the power structure. Power is shifting from the landlords – old allies of the clergy – to the working peasant classes.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the failure of the clergymen to dislodge the government. For one thing, the Army held. Soldiers were willing to obey "shoot-to-kill" orders when they felt the administration to be in danger. Secondly, the right- and left-wing opponents of the regime have apparently been split, once and for all.

The regime has emerged strengthened and more popular. Although dissatisfaction with the government is traditionally deep-seated in Iran, the looting and the loss of life engendered by the religious leaders has aroused general indignation, and especially among the shopkeepers. On June 11, Tehran delivered a figurative slap in the face to the clergy when it ignored a call for a general strike.

The government has charged that large sums of money have been paid to the religious leaders to instigate the riots. No one has been named, but the finger points, if only by implication, to President Nasser. Iran and the UAR broke diplomatic relations in 1960 over Iran's friendly attitude to Israel. Since then, relations have been further aggravated by close Iran-Israel ties and a competition between the Shah and Nasser for influence in the Persian Gulf Sheikhdoms, where Iran, because of proximity and shared waterways, has important interests.

This still leaves open the question of how the religious leaders succeeded in inciting large numbers of working-class Iranians to take to the streets to demonstrate against reforms which are very much in their interest. The demonstrators' general ignorance and a streak of fanatic attachment to religion provide part of the answer. But also, this has not been a happy year for Iran. Unemployment has been high and the economy has stubbornly failed to register an up-turn. The future security of the regime depends basically on a far greater allocation of financial resources to economic development than at present.

EAST AFRICA: *A New Federation*

★ So far, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, and Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda have only agreed in principle to federate their respective countries, but the existence already of a joint Common Services Organization (CSO) will facilitate the rapid establishment of some form of federal union in East Africa. It seems unlikely any of the three countries will forego control of foreign policy, internal security, or economic development. On the other hand, a common defense policy has long been directed by the CSO, or by its predecessor, the East African High Commission. The postal and communications systems are already run jointly, the railways and harbors are a common undertaking, as are agricultural and fisheries research and technical matters in general. There is no reason why experience in these spheres should not, in time, be broadened to encompass other services like education and medical care.

Of greater moment, the formation of a Federation will probably permit a number of internal and external problems to be resolved amicably. The position of Uganda's hereditary kingdoms (especially Buganda) will be eased if their special status is in some way recognized by the Federal Structure. Zanzibar, after obtaining self-government in July, will also be able to join a loose federation and thus be permitted to share economic and other benefits that it will bring. Perhaps most important, the inclusion of Somalia, which has on a number of occasions evinced its support of an East African federation, could eliminate Kenya's present conflict with its own Somali population – all of whom now want desperately to join neighboring Somalia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO ARE POLAND'S "CONSERVATIVES AND "LIBERALS"?

The Gomulka Compromise

Warsaw

A visitor's first impression of Warsaw today will undoubtedly exceed his expectations, particularly if he bears in mind that the city was largely reduced to rubble by the end of the war. Traces of the Second World War are still visible everywhere. There are ruins, dilapidated houses and whole quarters which are scarcely a feather in Warsaw's cap, but what has been achieved is remarkable enough. Even though there is a housing shortage in the Polish capital and – as in Moscow – a ban on new residents, conditions are less arduous here than in the Soviet Union. The Warsaw street-scene belongs entirely to Central or Western Europe. The knot of students waiting for a bus in the *Krakowskie Przedmestie* could be transplanted to the *Boulevard St. Michel* without arousing a second glance there; the gentlemen with umbrellas exercising their dogs in *Ujazdowski* Park or the elegant ladies sitting on benches watching their children – these features differ hardly at all from their equivalents in the *Englischer Garten* or the *Jardin de Luxembourg*. It is difficult to find a seat in the cafés of the Polish capital at any hour of the day, and the tasteful and modern décor of many clubs or shop windows can be compared to advantage with what one sees in other East European capitals. Western newspapers and books are obtainable, if not displayed on every street corner; cinemas show *Rio Bravo* and similar products of Hollywood or the West European film industry, and open-air exhibitions of abstract art, which dog the visitor's footsteps everywhere, are held in the old quarter of the city. One widely-read newspaper devotes itself exclusively to a subject which, to quote his own words, gives Khrushchev a belly-ache, namely jazz, and the Catholic Church figures more prominently in the city scene than it does in most West European capitals.

These first impressions convey a picture, at least in broad outline, of a modern metropolis during a period of industrial expansion. However, as a somewhat closer acquaintanceship discloses, this impression is only partially correct and is in many respects, at least at the present moment, misleading. Poland's standard of living has deteriorated in recent months, not improved. Moreover, as in other East European countries, a poor harvest combined with a hard winter (and official miscalculations) has provoked an economic crisis which may be less noticeable in Poland than in Czechoslovakia but has nonetheless engendered considerable dissatisfaction – and not with the elements alone. As in 1959, the economic crisis goes hand in hand with certain political tensions which have existed beneath the surface since 1955 and from time to time declare themselves openly.

There is not simply in Poland, as in many other Communist States, a "conservative" or neo-Stalinist faction and a more "liberal" group, each with conflicting ideas on economic and domestic policy. Warsaw boasts many such groups – one well-informed observer has counted eight – and Party leader Gomulka belongs, so far as is known, to none of them. The "conservatives," who occupy a predominant position in the army and internal security services, are not all members of the Stalinist old guard. On the contrary, as the name of the group ("partisans") implies, most of them spent the war years in Poland and many were subjected to repression during the Stalin era. They grumble about the country's lack of discipline and would like to reintroduce a stricter regime. They distrust most intellectuals, Party intellectuals not excluded, and a large number of them enjoy a reputation – probably not unfounded – for anti-Semitism, even though Poland no longer has a Jewish problem and Jews, with one lone exception, have vanished from the upper reaches of the Party hierarchy. On the other hand, sympathetic toward Khrushchev though they are in many respects, the "conservatives" are far from anxious for still closer dependence on Russia. It is also uncertain whether they advocate a more militant and Marxist orthodox policy toward the Church or agriculture than Gomulka. (Poland is noted for being the only East European country whose agriculture remains largely uncollectivized.) Thus their policy must be colored at least in part by nationalist and populist ideas and by their hostility toward intellectuals, and one should guard against attributing their extremism to Communist ideological motives. By contrast, an appreciable number of Poland's present-day "liberals" are people who were loyal Stalinists until 1954.

These few remarks should demonstrate that the tensions within the Party leadership are of a complex nature and cannot be reduced to a simple formula. The "liberals" have been forced to surrender many key positions to their opponents in the last five years, and the outside observer may well inquire why the "partisans" have not tried, under these circumstances, to sup-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

press their opponents completely with the aid of the Party machine, the army and the security services. There are many explanations for this. Gomulka and his friends in the Party leadership cannot fail to realize that the Communist Party represents only a small minority of Poles and the number of militant Communists only a small minority of the Party. The Party cannot afford to do without a substantial proportion of its membership, for the intellectuals are not an unimportant factor numerically. There are today some 300,000 Poles who have enjoyed a higher education; in 15 years' time there will be a million. It is hard enough to govern the country without intellectuals. To govern it *against* them would scarcely be possible in the long term.

After the celebrated crisis of October, 1956, the people and government of Poland hit upon a sort of compromise. All were unanimous in their rejection of Communism *à la Russe*, but those with political acumen also realized that in view of Poland's geographical position certain features of its policy were irrevocable, and that a return to a capitalist system (in industry, for instance) was neither expedient nor desirable. At that time the government promised to follow a policy which would permit a maximum of freedom within a given framework. The government has in many respects kept its promise. Intellectual freedom has been severely restricted, but it is still greater than in the other countries of the Eastern bloc. There have been infringements on the part of the political police, but they have been exceptions to the rule. The Church has remained substantially free from interference, and the peasants have not been press-ganged into collectives.

Even so, the past few months have witnessed harsher speeches from government representatives than have been heard for many a long day, and more and more voices are being raised in protest against the government's lack of good faith and its incompetence. This malaise is not confined to the intelligentsia. There have been strikes and strike threats at Lodz and Poznan; nurses (whose monthly pay totals 800 zloty – roughly $30 or $10, whichever rate of exchange one prefers) have come out on temporary strike, and students at the Warsaw Polytechnic have held a protest meeting. These few symptoms of unrest may be a temporary phenomenon occasioned by a hard winter and economic difficulties, but there are probably other, deeper reasons which I shall mention in a further report.

WALTER Z. LAQUEUR

In Defense of the Public School

The proponents of federal aid to education are beginning to recognize the facts of American political life – the most relevant fact being that Congress is always more ready to support private interests than public institutions, and the second fact being that tax relief is the least controversial of all forms of government aid. In order to unite these facts of life with the goal of better education an elaborate but highly-principled argument has been discovered to the effect that government must not influence, even by default, the American citizen's choice between two kinds of school. Pressed to its logical extreme this argument would suggest that federal support or relief should make all forms of education equally expensive, or inexpensive, and therefore free to choose from. But in any case, except in Prince Edward County, Virginia, all American parents must choose whether to send their children to the public school or to a private or parochial school.

This theoretic choice is worth examining. No one can suppose that the choice is a practical one for any but a small minority of parents. For the great majority the nearest public – or sometimes parochial – school is simply the obvious school for their children; though for some of these parents, the more they are aware of "better" schools patronized by better parents, the more they will depreciate their own school, with or without cause. At the other end of the scale, for the families who regularly send their children to private schools or expensive church schools, the "choice" is equally taken for granted – though some of these families, too, may develop unfortunate and erroneous attitudes about the value of their schools.

That the so-called choice, for the most part, does not exist discloses that the intentions of the politically-educated educationalists – typified by Senator Abraham Ribicoff – are not directly related to the improvement of education. The proposed tax credits or deductions will simply reward parents who have already accepted the custom of paying a certain tuition to a separate school. It goes without saying that these parents fall into two politically-potent groups: one loosely organized but well-off and well connected; the other less well-off but numerous and better organized – *i.e.*, parents who send their children to parochial schools.

The position of "a hundred Representatives and Senators," who favor some kind of aid to private education (*NR*, June 15, 1963) is therefore less difficult to understand than the position – typified in recent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

months by *The New Republic* itself – of those who advocate federal aid, direct or indirect, to private and church-related schools purely in order to improve American education, to increase the individual opportunity for education. The advocates of tax relief for these higher purposes must pin their hopes on merely widening the small percentage of middle-class families who actually experience a choice between two kinds of school. And even then they must assume parents who have the best of all possible motives in choosing the private or church-related school: namely, the motive of rescuing a clearly superior student from a clearly inadequate school. I submit that among parents who are possessed of an actual choice, now or in the future, at least as many place their children in schools that charge tuition because they feel the children are *not* superior students, because they fear, rightly or wrongly, emotional damage to the children, or because they would aspire to a class that traditionally sends their children to separate schools. In other words, the large public need for improved education is not likely to be met by mildly enlarging the opportunity to exercise these several private motives, some useful, some not.

No doubt those who sincerely look to private or church-related schools to fulfill our national and human needs appreciate, at least as far as the method of tax relief is concerned, that the results will be minimal. More likely the results will be merely divisive. What is pernicious is the assumption, where a choice is possible, that a private school is the right choice for a superior student. It is not, and the notion that it is serves chiefly to pamper the prejudices of some parents and to alert the antennae of politicians.

There are a few good private schools in the United States and many good public schools. At decent universities the graduates of the two kinds of schools tend to become indistinguishable as groups. Students from the best private schools have more knowledge and are more used to hard work, but anyone who has taught at Harvard or Yale, for example, has seen this initial advantage overtaken and surpassed again and again by students from good and even bad public schools.

Let me borrow a few Harvard statistics. Harvard classes for the last decade or so have been divided about 50-50, in numbers, between public and private school graduates. Yet of 60 students in the classes of 1957 and 1958 who graduated *summa cum laude* 47 were from public schools; of the 344 who graduated *summa* or *magna cum laude*, 224 were from public and 120 from private schools. I do not wish to use these statistics in any cheap or facile way. Actually the public-school students in question are much more narrowly selected than their classmates from private schools. Harvard knows in advance that the majority of its public-school graduates will do better than the majority of its private-school graduates; it is (statistically) easier to get into Harvard from a certain group of private schools. This is not a case of snobbery – not entirely, at any rate: after an outlay on scholarships that is gigantic by any standards, Harvard can still not afford as many students from public schools as it would like to. In 1960 a committee headed by the present Dean of the Faculty concluded "that Harvard should continue to admit an increasing proportion of its freshmen from among qualified graduates of public schools. To ignore or seek to minimize the pool of talent which such applicants represent would be to fly in the face of all our current performance studies."

I cite this Harvard testimony as a reminder that, when viewed from that lofty height at least, the public schools still do serve their own primary functions: the democratization of learning and the discovery of talent. The quality and quantity of education in our schools is nothing to boast of, but let us not wish them away. When it comes to actual comparisons, one can deal with individual schools, but the argument for a *general* preference for public schools is suggested by the idiom in which parents usually address this question. One says, "Our child goes to the public school"; and the other, "We send our child to such-and-such a school." It is the difference between going and being sent – or, as a seventh-grader from either regimen can readily understand, if not explain, the difference between the child as subject or as object of the action. A very small group of privileged Americans simply "go" as a matter of course to private schools; but they are not consciously making a choice in any case. The rest of the students in private schools are sent.

Irrespective of academic achievement, it is the traditional faith in the public school that I fear will be lost and never replaced. The schools are the one great public enterprise that Americans have shared and trusted. Now they are challenged even by those Americans who have lately been urging a greater investment in public enterprise. The vision of a nation of parents scurrying for this school or that, of children who believe that a school must be good enough for Billy and Lucy rather than Billy and Lucy being good enough at school, of communities without a single public institution in which to participate and take pride except, perhaps, the capacity to make war, is not a happy one. Only good public schools can substitute for good public schools. Far from broadening the choice of available schools for a few children, there needs to be emphasized and rewarded the participation in public schools and the choice of strengthening them.

Alexander Welsh

Mr. Welsh *is an assistant professor of English at Yale University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Integrated Weather

John Junior

Not long ago I heard a public speaker declare, in elegant language and diction, that the Negro's equality would be coming in due time if only he'd be satisfied for now with the separate-but-equal doctrine. He went on to say that Southern white people were being maligned when, actually, they love the Negro and want to see him happy (in different schools, colleges, movie palaces, restaurants, churches and rest rooms). The gentleman spoke in the semi-hypnotic tone of an evangelist in possession of a final, unalterable truth. And I must concede his adroitness in the use of ringing phrases: Time Honored Custom, Paternal Love, Sovereign Rights and Equality-through-Evolution. There may have been more; if so, I missed it because I was thinking about John Junior.

John Junior and I were teenagers together in the late '30s when his father, Big John, worked for my father as a straw boss and loader of oranges into railroad cars. John Junior often came to the packing plant, as any youngster does, to be near his Daddy. Sometimes he brought a book with him and read it while perched on the loading platform dangling his legs over a side track of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company.

Occasionally I talked with John Junior; or, rather, I tried to. He, after all, was the straw boss's boy, I the son of the white bossman. I went to the white high school, he to the colored one across town. Each of us liked football but cheered different teams, he the all-colored Trojans, I the all-white Yellow Jackets. We had in common not one teacher, one pal, one neighbor, one pastor; not even a shared enemy. We swapped, at best, friendly half-embarrassed signals – a smile, a platitude or two. The one topic John Junior and I actually did share was the weather; somehow the Almighty had overlooked providing separate-but-equal rains, temperatures or lightning bolts.

A quarter-century ago, in 1938, I went away to college and learned, on coming home for the first vacation, that John Junior was making a fine school record and wanted to go on to college. It was something very few colored boys in Florida dared hope for in those days. But the boy's daddy, Big John, was more than a straw boss and boxcar loader; he was a preacher, too. The extra earnings might, just might, give John Junior that chance if he made up his mind to work hard and earn some of the money, too. Knowing John Junior's fondness for writing, I saved and passed along to him my college textbooks in English and journalism. The books were sent to him through Big John, because there still was between John Junior and me a barrier as real as a brick wall: nothingness in common. We were a mile or so apart, bounded, then and now, by a frontier known as Canal Street, whites to the west, coloreds to the east; two nations which didn't communicate and seemed not to know how. So I sent the books across the frontier by Big John. Handing them personally to John Junior would have been painful. The gift was from the white boss's son, a boy who had built-in status, assured by the pigmentation of his skin. Try to be friendly and I'd seem only patronizing; at least, that's how I felt.

That was the time, so I believe now, when a tiny spark of something-or-other lodged itself in my psyche. Maybe it was what the public speaker was calling True Social Conscience. The System was there, consecrated by custom and seemingly cemented by common acceptance, but that something-or-other kept whispering that the System wasn't what it ought to be. Even so, I had in those days matters of real importance to consider, such as my 1928 Essex coach, girls, baseball, parties and vacation. Sure I liked John Junior, and I think he liked me, and it was too damned bad the way things were. But since things *were* that way, why brood? Especially when the brakes of my car had sprung an oil leak that I had somehow to get fixed. He and I remained friends at the precise distance the System decreed.

John Junior might well be a patchwork character, pieced together from fragments of many Negro young people I knew in those separate-but-equal days of growing up. But he's not. He's Dr. John Rembert Jr., president of Gibbs College in St. Petersburg, Florida, with a doctorate and about all the other educational honors that could come his way.

Today, it would seem, the barrier ought to come crashing down, at least as far as we are concerned. John Junior and I are equals now, except that, in some fields, he is equaller than I am. Certainly we could meet and talk as equals, only there still isn't much to talk about. Canal Street has been widened and resurfaced and dotted with new buildings, but it is still there. The signs are up, White Men, Colored Men, White Women, Colored Women, The Management Reserves the Right. . . . Two nations, neither hostile nor friendly, coexist side by side, still without a common language. So I must continue to exchange with him the same despairing signals, knowing deep down that John Junior and I have in common only the weather, which the Almighty sees fit to administer on a non-segregated basis, very much as He did in 1938. The public speaker must have had somebody in mind when he painted his word-picture of love, harmony and equality-to-come. But he wasn't talking about anybody I know, on either side of Canal Street.

Emmett Peter, Jr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

People of the Slums

II—*The Backyards of Academia*

by Joan Colebrook

There are few facts more obvious in Boston than the great gulf which separates the University complexes of Harvard and MIT, and the nearby blighted areas. In Cambridge, not a stone's throw from Harvard Yard, delinquent boys and girls roam the streets, living in a no-man's land of fantasy, while their brothers and sisters at Harvard and Radcliffe busy themselves with intellectual advancement.

As Harvard, MIT, and Boston University expand, this great complex of learning will embrace an area on both sides of the river, but the socially conscious ask themselves whether this intellectual city will mean to help adjacent cultural ghettos? Surely it represents a bankrupt and outdated idea, a reinforcement of the isolation already too evident in our society. All our great institutions are growing and consolidating, but their backyards are merging with depressing slums.

Universities are as divided in their needs as other institutions, and as the horizon narrows their land hunger becomes as great as that of the big corporations. In an editorial in the Harvard *Crimson* last year, it was pointed out that Northwestern University had agreed to purchase two and a half million cubic yards of the famous Indiana dunes (bordering Lake Michigan), so making themselves partners with Bethlehem Steel in the proposed destruction of a priceless public recreation area. President Kennedy, Senator Douglas, Indiana citizens and labor unions were at one point endeavoring to protect the dunes; they have almost given up. There was a comparable situation in the Hyde Park-Kenwood Renewal Project, when the interests of the University of Chicago were opposed to those of nearby residents. The University perhaps felt that it had its back to the wall. It joined forces with Mayor Daley to ensure the University's expansion by the condemnation of local properties and by supporting the use of economic sanctions against recalcitrant relocatees. That the University should so forget its historic mission of objectivity, not to mention community improvement, is proof of the tremendous pressure exerted by land needs. (Later, Mayor Daley paid the price; a $22 million urban renewal bond issue was rejected at the polls – a refusal ascribed to negative votes of low-income and minority groups.)

Wayne State University in Detroit is expanding by the demolition of 40 acres of reasonably *good* housing – this at a time when there is a serious housing shortage all across the nation. In St. Louis, Missouri, the Catholic University was in line for more land as a result of the dispossession of citizens, and when these citizens sued, the Courts upheld the excessively broad powers of the Redevelopment Authority to dispose of land as it pleased. (In this test case, a precedent seems to have been established – not only that land could be taken in the face of determined citizen-opposition, but also that it could be passed on to a church-related school.) In Cleveland more than 20 institutions, including two universities (Case Institute of Technology and Western Reserve), the Cleveland Symphony, the School of Design, and various local churches and hospitals, have agreed to take no unilateral action and to renew an area according to a total plan

With all this bulldozing and building, this consolidation of the interests and the property of great institutions, there seems relatively little concern for the community and for the kind of public education which well-structured communities would afford. It is as if the universities thought that they could stand aside and let solidify this class division between the city, the privileged community and the suburb.

During the urban renewal upheaval in Cambridge, in that area which lies between Harvard and MIT, there was considerable hostility expressed against the "Brattle St. crowd," and against the universities which were spreading themselves at the expense of low-income groups. Some touching sentiments were expressed in a declaration put out by the residents of the Houghton area (close to Harvard) when recreational needs were being discussed at a meeting on August 9, 1961:

"This recreational park would leave a clear and free

JOAN COLEBROOK *was born in Australia and is the author of two novels,* All That Seemed Final *and* The Northerner. *She now lives in Cambridge, Mass., where she has been engaged in social work. This is the second of two articles.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

area directly to the river, would be a better form of relation between Harvard and our residents and also prevent the fear of the so-called 'Chinese Wall'. We ask that the urban renewal consider our desires in this matter, as it is vital that Harvard be a part of the Riverside area and not a segregated system which it has been in the past. If we can all play together we will know each other better and avoid some of the past mistakes that have been made. We are an integrated neighborhood and Harvard will accept students from foreign lands, where American prestige can be elevated by this integration, if Harvard and Riverside are working side by side."

Reading this, one cannot help noting that the residents of the Houghton area were being rather more progressive in their thinking than were those who had better educational reason to be so, and yet the very fact that such a declaration was drawn up suggests that some good work had been done somewhere, and that the attitude of residents (who actually mentioned with appreciation the work of Charles Whitlock, Assistant to the President of Harvard, and O. Robert Simha of MIT) was hopeful rather than hostile.

Because of insufficient popular involvement in the Donnelly Field Renewal Project in Cambridge, the city lost the support of the federal government and $16 million in federal cash, plus other credits which would have amounted to about $6 million more. The Cambridge City Council first committed itself financially to planning the project, then voted down its own plan. Cambridge therefore now owes the federal government the $400,000 spent on the assumption that the plan would go through. During the final voting on the project, citizens were so vocal and so hostile that the meeting was in a complete turmoil. There were disorderly interjections, petitions were circulated, homeowners wept openly. Several councilors were so overwhelmed, or so persuaded, that they changed their vote on the spot.

"Best for the Poor"

There had been at least some warning of this "denouement." James Kane, Community Relations Consultant employed by the Cambridge Community Services, through contract with the Cambridge Renewal Authority, had written in September, 1961: "I feel therefore that our present situation is quite precarious in Donnelly Field. If the appraisers enter the designated areas before the residents are ready to face facts, then we may well expect a noisy angry response. . . . We are still largely seeking their approval and not their participation."

This suggests that at least one alert social worker was aware that the Cambridge Renewal Authority was acting too confidently as though it knew what was "best for the poor."

Perhaps our poor are less accepting of patronage than their prototypes in other countries. At the same time, however, they are not quite ready to lead themselves. As was pointed out in my first article, the deprived areas lack something more than money; they lack leadership and are cut off from the fertilizing flow of knowledge and civic skill.

In the rehabilitated neighborhoods of Coconut Grove in Miami, Mount Royal in Baltimore, and Back-of-the-Yards in Chicago, there was proof that the low-income person (so preoccupied with his economic struggle) could be awakened to public responsibility. In all these places the interdependency of housing and social problems was graphically illustrated. Families learned how to deal with landlords, how to get loans, how to stimulate action by city officials. Morale was improved by fix-up programs, civic participation, communal activities. Negroes emerged as leaders. Schools cooperated. Evening class enrollments rose. In the Mount Royal area in Baltimore, racial attitudes improved. In Coconut Grove "Colored town" in Miami, along with a 10 percent increase in land and property values, there were decreases in alcoholism and delinquency.

But pilot areas like the above began to go downhill after the pressure to do something let up. Their progress was "two-steps forward, one-step backwards." Small and unarmed like David, submerged citizens had fought against the Goliath of urban decay, urban corruption, urban inertia – and it was good aiming when their slingshots found a mark. But leadership needs to be permanent, reforms more fundamental. The concept of neighborhood has to have backing from the larger community – even while local leadership in the slums is being trained. Big-name support in most urban renewal efforts has been on the side of the Authorities, rather than on the side of the "little people." Many city planners, office holders, university leaders, social workers and consultants (perhaps because they did not know what else to do) have gone along with the downgrading of a constructive renewal program.

Such alert critics as Jane Jacobs, Charles Abrams and Catherine Bauer Wurster have been brilliantly articulate about the mistakes that are being made. Yet the demolition goes its merry way, like a Gargantuan machine, which cannot stop once it has started. Social workers might lead, but social workers seem to have deserted social action for psychology, and those who haven't appear to be immersed in slum housekeeping. City government tends on the whole to be dominated by politics, and planners and Renewal Authorities have such an investment in city-changing that they seem unable to stand back and look at their handiwork in human terms.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With the universities, however, the situation is rather different. Since education and re-education are among the great slum needs, and since in the universities we find broad liberal backgrounds and a minimum of corruption, one would not think it unreasonable to look here for civic leadership. The universities, at least, could do three things: They could become educationally involved; they could try to build *through* the community instead of consolidating their properties into veritable walled cities; and they could take a firm stand against dishonesty.

The Pathos of Righteousness

In Allston in Boston, where the Renewal Authority declared substandard an area close to the Harvard Business School, the desperate citizens put up a huge notice with the legend *To Hell With Urban Renewal*, and issued appeals filled with biblical utterances and frantic threats. At subsequent hearings (Dec. 6, 1962) it was documented that the houses belonging to the neighbors were generally in good condition and scarcely to be considered substandard, and that the land was being taken for luxury apartments, although there was land available for such enterprises across the street. What is more, it appeared that a deal had been made with developer John Pappas, two years before the Authority's finding of the area as substandard. The dialogue as reported in the stenographic record has all the pathos of righteousness.

Mrs. Annie Saricelli: I have a home and I lived 53 years here, me and my husband. My children was born over there. Why are they going to take the house from me when we own the place? Why? I won't get out for nobody, never.

Councilor Piemonte: How many children did you have?

Mrs. Saricelli: We pay taxes 52 years right along, pay our bills and pay everything. Why we have to get out of the house? The old man is 81 and I am 73. Where are you people going to throw us? In the dump? After we work like everything . . .? That is our home, that will be our home till we die. That is all.

It has been made clear on more occasions than the above, that purely private concerns have predominated in decisions to declare an area blighted. In the Temple Area Project in Los Angeles, it was reported that the presence of oil in the area not only stimulated redevelopment, but meant that the original owners could not share in the profits which accrued.

"Many of us have invested in further property than we owned," said Mrs. Catherine Murphy at the Hearings before the Subcommittee on Involuntary Relocation of the Elderly (Oct.-Dec., 1962), "feeling that this was the heart of town, that when these wells came out we could invest . . . but when they take and force us to sell, and we sit in a public hearing and have one of the men, the head of our city, admit that he went out and paid out of his pocket for a geological survey of our area!"

Mrs. Murphy is complaining in Los Angeles about the same sort of thing the Allston neighbors complain about in Boston. Land is being taken not to halt blight and eliminate substandard housing, but to exploit the situation for some private investor's benefit. And she made a good point, when she finished her testimony with the statement: "If you take the profit out of this, they wouldn't be half as interested in the type of houses we are living in."

At the Allston Hearings, the charges made against Harvard were not those of dishonesty. There was one implication that the University deliberately let its properties go to ruin, so as to benefit by being able to buy other adjoining property at the reduced urban renewal price, but this was surely a grave charge. Nevertheless, a tremendous conflict of interest was involved here, with the needs of 71 ordinary families at stake. The Authority seemed to be cracking the whip and warning the citizens that if they didn't approve the land-taking, Harvard would get the land anyway and turn it "into playing-fields." One citizen had the intelligence to point out that at least Harvard had no eminent domain and bought when people wanted to sell, which seemed to identify the real enemy as the broad powers granted to the Authorities. One might go further and ask why Harvard was so passive? Why didn't the University take the stand and testify that their *interest* was one with the interest of the community? In this drama of urban renewal there seems to be plenty of petty villains and lots of extras, but mighty few heroes.

Not only could we take the illegitimate profit out of urban renewal as Mrs. Murphy wanted, but in renewing cities, especially their "gray" areas, we could turn the whole process into community education. The universities could relinquish the role of "Lady Bountiful," who shows her concern for the community by the occasional gift of a playground, school equipment or student parties at Christmas. With a little effort, a cultural web could be spread over these slum areas. Outposts of learning and action research could be set up – outposts which would not need to be large or impressive and would not be without intellectual returns. For study of the social and behavioral sciences, for research into folklore and folk habits, for medical practice and research, for the study of law and criminology, a depressed area is as useful as a privileged area. How ironic it is that as medical students learn from, while treating, low-income patients, there is little reciprocal learning in the other direction. In the slums,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many residents are pitifully ignorant of disease and of the working of the human body. Hospitals could, in the act of expansion, set up small clinics which could also become schools for health. At present, a great expansion of hospital property is being suggested in the South End of Boston, expansion which, because it will be centralized and not spread through the community or built upon already vacant land, will, if it goes through, rouse more antagonism among the about-to-be-expelled residents.

Community Feeling Begets Imagination

One cannot say that all universities and institutions have been as unimaginative as I have suggested. The University of Pennsylvania is engaged in urban renewal through the West Philadelphia Development Corporation. Since the master plan in this instance is being carried out by one man and not by a power outfit, the enterprise is scaled down to human size, with the added positives of some close involvement between the university and the local high school. (The university guaranteed scholarships and equipment, the faculty took an interest in sending their children to the school, and through a motivation program called "The Big M," a creative interchange was worked out between the high-school students and the campus.) Here some real community feeling came into play.

And community feeling begets imagination. In real urban renewal, the public buildings we make could become learning constructs, the building itself a community affair (jobless teenagers could serve an apprenticeship on their own housing); the schools could be linked up with the outside world, giving a continuing experience in new skills and professions, in community relations, citizenship and entertainment. What is more, with the participation of universities, the low-income Housing Projects, now so choked with uneducated tenants, could benefit by the admittance of eligible married students. And when, as has been promised, Housing Projects cease to be so monumental and hideous (Alas! Chicago and Pittsburgh are planning some so *enormous* as to make this sentence optimistic) but are scattered in small units through renewal areas, a new image arises, a new hope of living for the poor. The smaller community within the city, allied to a responsive "open" core city, would set free the psychic energy of the urbanite.

The alternative is as "gray" as the areas we renew. A sort of inertia sets in, a reversion to helplessness. I am reminded of the aging owner of a little store, who had just heard that his building was coming down. "Where are you going?" I asked him. "Out of business," he answered with a quiet crushing finality, "There's nothing else to do. There's no place for me." He simply could not see this as an opportunity.

Such passivity of the citizen in what deeply concerns him is more than unjust, it is an obliteration close to killing. One old woman who had lived for nearly 50 years in a slum area and now was to be relocated at the age of 71 to a beautiful but distant project for the elderly, far from her own friends and from her own reason for being, had no comment to make upon her journey other than that it was "the road to the graveyard."

Yet all are not so unresisting. Mrs. Redgate at the Allston Hearings in Boston made a vigorous stand for her own value as a small storekeeper.

". . . I have a little store and the kids buy penny candy, and what's wrong with that? You gentlemen bought penny candy, and have you gotten so big that you sit there and forget? . . . You heard this baloney about the tax base and this and that? But people are people and they are made by God, and he gave them the right to be where they are."

Mrs. Redgate didn't see why *she* should give place to luxury housing; she expressed herself with confidence because she had really come to believe that America was the country where ordinary people could have autonomy and security. And surely the implied principle is correct. The ordinary citizen should not lose his home without excellent reason; he should have the right to security and autonomy, to education and development, to that "decent environment" promised in the urban renewal law, to his own small share in the American dream.

For whose dream is it to be? That of real-estate operators, omnivorous for high-rise apartments yielding fantastic rents? That of land-hungry universities? Or is there a lingering appeal in the original dream, beckoning dissatisfied and ill-used people to a new world? We are still absorbing into our cities rural and ethnic groups with a minimum of security and a minimum of skill, so that whatever the expanding world means to the rest of us, the existence of these newcomers is closely tied to their living area. This raw human material deserves the chance to move up. At this moment, when cities in the Deep South tremble at the revolt of the Negro, the whole question of the aspiration of low-income groups needs to be re-examined.

Although everyone should take part in this re-examination, leadership is only presented to those most fitted to accept it. Responsibility for urban renewal can only be expected of those who are alert enough to see in it elements of the age-old struggle between the overprivileged and the under-privileged. The universities are historically placed to see this struggle, and if they continue to recognize it in the "real" world around them, so, proportionately, will their students be prepared for that world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spender: The Poet as Critic

by John Berryman

Candor has long been known as one of Spender's chief notes, both as a writer and as a man, and it looks forth at us, tranquil and friendly, everywhere in this collection of his recent criticism. It has come under reproach for a pose. Whether it is or not, it serves him well. The company is pleasant, the conversation good, the tone is very personal, even confiding, the subjects attractive. If anyone's social life has been defective lately, I recommend this volume highly.

The Making of a Poem
by Stephen Spender
(Norton; $4)

Unlike Auden, who recently allowed as how he has never written a word of criticism unsolicited, Spender is a professional critic. Of course I do not use the word in an honorific way; I mean that he is willing to undertake the responsibility of judging, and that he works from certain comprehensive prepossessions. Both aspects can be illustrated with a passage from a useful paper ("Greatness of Aim") contrasting Auden and Thomas, the most dazzling English poets, I suppose, of our time (I never know just what Eliot is, but it is certain that Auden is not an American):

> "Today there is a vice of thinking that opposed forces are symmetrically balanced (the East and West as bad as one another – McCarthy in America, slave labor camps in Russia: so perhaps I should explain that because I think Dylan Thomas and W. H. Auden opposites I have not fallen into the contemporary assumption that they must be equal forces. Mr. Auden's seems to me much the more considerable achievement: although, superficially, he may seem a less 'poetic' writer than Thomas, he has gone much further in achieving the main task of contemporary poetry, which is to transmute the anti-poetic material of contemporary life into transparent poetry."

I feel considerable sympathy with both the judgment and the generalization. It is clear that Auden's crazy, magisterial early work is now undervalued, and likely that Thomas' spell is still so over us that we overrate his work taken as a whole; moreover I don't trust Thomas' early work any more, ingenious, entrancing and original as it is. I think he became magnificent only later and will look very uneven, like most romantic poets, to readers in the future.

Spender's dominant interests, perhaps, in this collection, are the Self of the poet – how it works, what it does – and the British-American (or American-British) relation in literature. With regard to the first, I am obliged to confess that I have never much liked the essay called "The Making of a Poem," from which the collection takes its title. This is partly because I cannot like much the poem the composition of which it rehearses (one of his own – though I would like to explain in passing that I am not lined up with critics hostile or indifferent to his poetry) but even more because it dazes me. Most of the poets with whose writing practice I am familiar revise a good deal. Yeats and Lowell are extreme cases – or so I thought until Spender published "The Making of a Poem." But good heavens, if everybody versioned and versioned this way, there would be damned few poems around. I don't know how Spender has got so many poems done, especially because he does many things besides write poetry: he is a brilliant and assiduous editor (I would call *Encounter* the most consistently interesting magazine now being published), he writes plays and fiction and has done an autobiography, he lectures and teaches, he sponsors conferences and causes.

Since James, Eliot, Pound, writers have gone east; since Lawrence, Huxley, Isherwood and Auden, writers have come west in what Spender terms (in a Texas lecture) "the Immigration in Reverse." If there is anyone more knowledgeable about this phenomenon (to take it as one, not two) than Spender, I do not know who it is. He understands much better than most Englishmen who have sailed or flown in on us both the misleading force of the familiarity that, owing to *similar* languages and cultures, they feel here, and the immense difficulty they actually experience in getting hold of American intellectual life at all. But it is unfortunate, I think, that in the light of later experience he has revised "The Situation of the American Writer," an article of 1949, so that it now truly represents neither 1949 nor 1962; I wish he had reprinted the original and then done a postscript. Conditions do indeed alter very rapidly. I take one general and one particular observation that seem to me admirable. He cites Keats, early Gide, Rilke as instances of a sense that "the European failure is often a kind of snobbish success, at any rate among a small circle . . . But in America there are scarcely these public failures who are secretly private, highly superior successes. There is very little sense within a civilization which is changing and expanding so rapidly, that if one misses one's time, another time will discover one." I think of James Agee and Nathanael West as exceptions here, but I believe Spender has put the desolate

Coming

Our Miseducated Teachers
by Christopher Jencks

A Gift from Nabokov
by Hilary Corke

Céline
by Irving Howe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rule accurately; between failure and acclamation in *Time* magazine is no-man's land, where most professional writers live. The universities, awards, paperbacks help: the medical corps. The particular observation is about T. S. Eliot: "In much of Eliot's writing there is an underlying fear of provincialism, a great admiration for the places which are central and which therefore connect with the main stream of tradition and the intellectual life of the past. . . . In *Four Quartets* he looks for shrines left in the countryside, far from the centers of civilization."

But the paper here which pleases me most is one on Housman. Housman presents a problem which not even Edmund Wilson and Orwell have been able to solve. Here is a poet who, after writing almost no serious verse (he was a master of light verse) until his mid-thirties, suddenly burst forth briefly and thereafter fell largely silent though he lived on to 70; a failure at Oxford who became one of England's greatest classical scholars since Bentley and Porson; a sadist unrivalled even in the history of scholarship. There was a story at Cambridge – where I went into residence a few months after he died there in 1936 – to the effect that that event was succeeded by a spate of classical publication such as Europe had never seen before. Scholars had been holding up their works for years lest he review them; wisely – for among his papers were found more of the elegant terrifying characterizations of his colleagues for which he was infamous, but without the names filled in yet. A man with *one* friend, an athlete named Jackson who went off to India, a man who reminds one now of another Cambridge scholar-poet-bachelor, Gray, now of T. E. Lawrence (an affinity Housman recognized), now of nobody; a mind as bleak as Beckett's, as inventive as Charles Addams'; a poet still everywhere popular, author of a handful of masterly poems seldom if ever anthologized, hardly read, and despised by or unfamiliar to almost every respectable critic in England and America.

Spender does not solve the problem. But his abilities are nowhere more evident than in his addresses to it. He quotes the overwhelming lyric, "When the eye of day is shut," praises it justly, and continues: "All the same, even here, there is something lacking, some element which has not been stated, some nagging Housmanish secret. One feels that the poem has its autobiographical aspect; and yet this is realized neither in the situation of the speaker of the poetic monologue nor in that of the 'hearts that loved him'." This could not be bettered, and allied to it is the perception that "in this poetry of unrequited love, the loved one is not blamed for the failure to return love." Best of all is Spender's defense of some of the (finest) poems against the assumption that because of their adolescent attitude they cannot be taken seriously at all: "It is possible – on the contrary – to argue that for a poet of limited aims, strong ideals, and a perfectionist technique, adolescence – according to Housman's way of interpreting it – is an admirable theme. This theme is the stage in life where idealistic and sensuous impulses establish a precarious trance," and so forward, at a length I must not quote. The whole little essay – which ignores, though, the *Schadenfreude* in the poetry – is a joy, and the book worthy of one of England's most distinguished men of letters.

Mrs. Stowe and the American Imagination

by Kenneth S. Lynn

John P. Jewett, the young Abolitionist who was the first publisher of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was so gloomy about the novel's chances for success that in February, 1852, a month before it was due to appear, he offered Mrs. Stowe a most unusual contract. He proposed to give her 50 percent of the profits – if there were any – from the novel's sale, providing she would share equally with him the financial burden of bringing it out. Because Mrs. Stowe took an equally dim view of her novel's prospects, she refused the offer, opting instead for the usual 10 percent royalty.

Runaway to Heaven
The Story of Harriet Beecher Stowe
by Johanna Johnston
(Doubleday; $5.95)

By May 15, it was painfully clear to Mrs. Stowe that she had made a very wrong decision. For on that day Jewett & Co. announced it had sold 50 thousand sets of the two-volume work in less than two months. By the end of the year, between a quarter and a half a million copies were in print. In Great Britain, meanwhile, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was racking up even more startling sales figures. With the novel unprotected by international copyright, half a dozen English publishers brought out the book during the summer of 1852. By November, there were more than twenty different editions, and the novel was selling at twice the rate that it was in America; there were "Tom" songs to be heard in the music halls, "Tom" plays to see, and "Tom" pictures for sale in the art shops; as *The Spectator* remarked, Britain had succumbed to "Tom-mania."

Both Jewett and Mrs. Stowe had counted on Abolitionist sympathizers buying the book: the same sort of people who were readers of *The National Era*, the weekly anti-slavery magazine in which the novel had first appeared as a serial, would probably like to own a copy in hard covers. But how many Abolitionists were there? The slender subscription list of *The Era* provided a discouraging answer, and Jewett made his offer about profit-sharing – and Mrs. Stowe her negative reply – accordingly. What neither of them expected was that the novel would appeal to readers on some other basis than political allegiance. They did not understand that millions of people who either had no particular interest in the fate of the Negro, or who shared with Daniel Webster the vain hope that if only extremists would stop agitating the slavery issue it might go away, would be irresistibly attracted to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* – for reasons they would be quite unwilling to analyze. To the browser in the bookstores of mid-Vic-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

torian England and America, Mrs. Stowe's lurid story of miscegenation and midnight floggings was as startling an apparition, among the flawless pruderies of Lydia Sigourney and Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, the wooden romances of Fenimore Cooper, and the sexually-repressed narratives of Dickens and Trollope, as was the comely quadroon girl who appeared beside the pulpit in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, NY, one Sunday morning, unfastened and let fall her beautiful hair, and stood gazing shyly at the floor while the minister "sold" her in a mock-auction to the highest bidder. The congregation which, with unprecedented alacrity, flung gold pieces, bank notes, watches, and jewelry into the collection plates at Plymouth Church and then surged forward for a better look at the trembling creature, was driven by the same complex of motives that inspired a huge readership on both sides of the Atlantic to peruse certain chapters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with special care. Church had never been like this before, and neither had the novel – at least, not the respectable kind.

The Brooklyn minister and the best-selling novelist were brother and sister, as it happens. Their father, Lyman Beecher, had been Calvinism's most dauntless apostle in early 19th-Century America – but what made Henry Ward Beecher and his sister Harriet famous was their subversion of the old-time morality. Henry Ward became the most sought-after minister of his day, and Harriet the author of the most-widely-read novel of the century, because they succeeded in satisfying the enormous, pent-up need of the English-speaking world for emotional release – and they accomplished this without ever having to admit (even to themselves!) that some of the thoughts they inspired in their admirers' minds were illicit. Like the patent medicines to which many temperance advocates were so curiously devoted, Henry Ward's "religion of love" and Harriet's phenomenal best-seller offered their audiences a means of short-circuiting the moral strictures of the era which blocked the pathway to questionable pleasures. Yet at the same time that they short-circuited these strictures, they reaffirmed them – thereby eliminating the possibility of guilty consciences. The children of Lyman Beecher spoke in the holy name of all the middle-class ideals of their society – in the name of Christian freedom, the sacredness of family life, and the moral mission of the Union. Slavery was evil because it threatened these glories – and who could blame those who decried the evil for adding force to their denunciations by dramatic illustrations? With tears streaming down his face, Henry Ward outlined the fate that lay in store for quadroon girls who were sold as chattels. Half-swooning as she wrote the words, Harriet described the gruesome beating which cost Uncle Tom his life. By their ability to conjure up such compelling nightmares, and to encapsulate them in moral outrage, the Beechers electrified the Victorian imagination.

All of this, however, is mere sociology. While it is undeniably fascinating to locate the energies in the novel which were largely responsible for its mass appeal a century ago, the sex and violence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are not the only reasons, not even the primary reasons, why the book is worth recalling today; measured by the standard which Ian Fleming and Mickey Spillane consider excellence, Mrs. Stowe's narrative is pale stuff. Nor is the novel's historical fame as a propaganda piece worth any further attention, for it has received too much publicity on that score already; no matter what Lincoln did or did not say to Mrs. Stowe when they were introduced, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did not start the Civil War. The grounds on which the novel warrants modern interest are literary. The statement that American literature is not so rich that we can afford to overlook masterpieces is often used as an excuse for reflating deservedly dead reputations, but in the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the statement constitutes a rebuke to a heedless nation. From Constance Rourke to Edmund Wilson, some of the finest literary critics of this century have praised Mrs. Stowe's book as a memorable piece of writing, to little or no avail. The emotion of the novel is undoubtedly morbid and sentimental, Constance Rourke acknowleged a generation ago, "but the unbroken force of that emotion produced breath; in its expansions and uncalculating balances, its flowing absorption in large sequences of action and its loose combinations of inter-woven fates, the story at least brings to mind what is meant by the epical scale." In an effort to challenge the American imagination, Edmund Wilson has said that "to expose oneself in maturity to *Uncle Tom* may . . . prove a startling experience," and he has compared Mrs. Stowe's dramatization of the uneasy relationship between the social classes to Zola's and to "such later studies of two sharply contrasting peoples uncomfortably involved with one another as the *John Bull's Other Island* of Bernard Shaw or E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*."

That contemporary readers remain steadfastly indifferent to the book is a tragedy. As the racial crisis in this country mounts with every passing day, there is a desperate need to understand the tensions that divide white from black, black from black, and white from white. With her panoramic breadth of vision and her uncanny skill in portraying troubled personalities (whether they be slaves or masters, Northerners or Southerners), Mrs. Stowe comprehended the nation's greatest internal problem as few other writers have. Although the latest biography of Mrs. Stowe, Johanna Johnston's *Runaway to Heaven*, is a disappointing performance, it nevertheless furnishes a timely occasion to recommend *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for summer reading.

Notes on Contributors

John Berryman, *a professor of English at Brown University, is the author of several books of poems. His newest collection,* Dream Songs, *will be published in the fall. Two excerpts from it have appeared in this journal.* Kenneth S. Lynn, *of the Harvard English faculty, prepared the Belknap Press edition of* Uncle Tom's Cabin. Oscar Gass *is a consulting economist in Washington, D. C. "Toward Social Democracy" concludes his essay, "Britain after World Power."* Jules Feiffer's *first novel,* Harry, the Rat with Women, *has just been published by McGraw-Hill.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain after World Power – III

Toward Social Democracy

by Oscar Gass

"I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem,
In England's green and pleasant Land."

– William Blake, 1804

Winston Churchill gave a dinner in July 1945, at Potsdam, for the victor-chiefs assembled in high conference. There he is reported to have spoken somewhat as follows: "I must apologize for having to leave here and interrupt the sessions of the conference. But, as you know, I am going back to England to take part in what is a very important element in English democratic processes – the counting of the ballot. We will be back here Monday – in such order as the British people may determine." Stalin is reported to have looked at Attlee, hunched in his chair, and remarked, "Mr. Attlee does not seem very eager." But it was Attlee who came back to Potsdam as Prime Minister. Labour won 393 seats, while the Conservatives and their allies – for all of Churchill's admired leadership in war – suffered the smashing defeat of being reduced to 213. Why?

The British Economy in the 1950's
edited by G. D. N. Worswick
and P. H. Ady
(Oxford; $6.25)

Lessons of Public Enterprise
edited by Michael Shanks
(Cape; $5.50)

John Anderson, then Churchill's Chancellor of the Exchequer, and designated to come after Eden in the succession to the position of Prime Minister, may, I suggest, stand as an embodiment of what it was, in the British conservatism of 1945, that led to this ignominious electoral defeat. Anderson's speeches, in the election campaign of 1945, may provide more insight, to the historian of British society, even than Churchill's. And this is not because Anderson was Churchill's chief economic officer, in a time confronting the economic problems of reconstruction and improvement. Anderson's pronouncements have rather the high evidentiary value of the commonplace. He spoke for a Britain that would stand fast on the old verities. "I have seen no reason to alter my views. . . . I ask for your votes on the same footing as before. . . . I prefer practical efficiency to theoretical perfection. . . . It is unquestionably to private enterprise that we must look. . . ." What did the British public feel to be missing in these echoing reminders?

First, Britain's economic performance from 1900 to 1939 had been miserable. During four decades, per capita income rose by only about a half-percent a year. In the 1920's and 1930's, unemployment rarely fell below 10 percent. Anderson (and the Conservative Party generally) held out no confidence in 1945 that a postwar government, in Conservative hands, could make the economy work better than it had from 1900 to 1939. Second, and less tangible but perhaps even more important, a Conservative government was felt to be one of restricted, class sympathies. Anderson (and Conservatives generally) found a model for admiration in the image of a society – many-faceted, yet traditional – so organized, through markets for commodities and human services, that even the poor and unfortunate rarely die of starvation and neglect, while men of extraordinary ability and perseverance (like John Anderson) frequently come to the top, even if they are not among the best-born. Vaguely, inarticulately, the British public, in 1945, rejected this old model of the good society. With this rejection, there fell also, for the time, the electoral fortunes of the Conservative Party.

The years fly, but the themes return. In recent British economic history, the dominant recurring theme seems to me what has been called "the revolution of rising expectations." Aspirations rise much faster than the output to satisfy them. Such redistribution of income as is achieved makes a small contribution to satisfaction (and does not transform the social structure of power). A decade ago, Messrs. Worswick and Ady edited a helpful volume entitled *The British Economy 1945-50*. Its tone was sympathetic to the Labour government. Now they have produced *The British Economy in the 1950's*. Its tone is less sympathetic to Conservative governments. The earlier volume seems to me the better organized. In this one, Part II, dealing with "International Trade and Payments," is particularly disappointing. But the chapter on "Fiscal Policy" by Mr. I. M. D. Little (with which I do not entirely agree) is alone worth the price of admission. And the chapter by Margaret Hall and those by Messrs. Worswick, Henderson and Knowles amply repay study. The authors criticize the Conservatives for excessive reliance on monetary controls and for restricting output repeatedly in efforts to strengthen the balance of payments. With this critique, I would broadly agree. They are also disrespectful of Conservative "government by exhortation." Let these things be. What is more interesting is the general import. A decade ago, the authors reported that economic accomplishments since 1945 had been considerable, but the British public was unsatisfied, indeed disappointed. From the vantage point of 1963, should this not again be the controlling theme?

In 1950, reconstruction had gone far. Unemployment was insignificant. Gross National Product was perhaps 20 percent higher than prewar. Industrial production was roughly 50 percent above prewar, and commodity exports were perhaps 75 percent above. But consumption per capita had barely regained the level of 1938. Food was still rationed formally, coal informally. Building was restricted severely. During the war, income had been shifted to the poor. The unemployed became employed. The lowest paid (girls, boys, the less skilled) received the greatest percentage increases. Direct taxes shifted income decidedly away from the highest 5 percent. After the war, there was no additional redistribution

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of income. (All this, much as in the United States.) But when, in 1950, per capita consumption had regained the level of 1938 on the *average*, the consumption of the more prosperous sections of the community was *below* 1938. Austerity cast a wide shadow. The classes felt hurt, and the masses did not feel prosperous. Where was the bacon and eggs?

After 1952, the bacon and eggs came back. Their return was assisted (from 1955) by a major improvement in Britain's terms of international trade. In comparison with 1954, by the second half of 1962 Britain was getting 119 units of imports for every 100 units of exports. But British domestic output also rose decisively. For the twelve years 1950-62, the total rise has been about 35 percent (US 48 percent). In Britain, with population growing only one-half percent annually, this meant a per capita increase in output of about 28 percent (during a period when the US, with 1.7 percent annual population growth, achieved a per capita increase of only 21 percent). An American pattern of spending on autos, houses, and household durables began to emerge in Britain. In the austerity years of 1948-51, personal savings averaged only £132 million annually; in 1959-62, they averaged £1,541 million – twelve times as much!

But the achieved rise in incomes did not satisfy. The share of the National Income represented by earnings from employment (wages and salaries) crept up. In 1951 it was 72 percent, in 1961 already 75 percent. British productivity was increasing by about 2 percent per annum. But British wage earners especially remained convinced they were not getting their fair share. They pressed for more rapid wage increases, and got them – 5 percent or 6 percent annually compounded, on the average of these 12 years. As weekly earnings have more than doubled, retail prices have risen by more than three-fifths. If wage earners could not get the reality of 5 percent or 6 percent annual income increases, then they would at least get the appearance! And this dogged insistence on the cherished illusion of easily-achieved, rapid betterment has struck fear in the minds of the actual and potential governing leaderships – on the Left as well as the Right. So we find the weekly of Left Labour, *The New Statesman*, writing (March 8, 1963):

> "Wages must be restrained, to keep exports competitive; the total volume of incomes must be related to the overall needs of the economy. There is every indication that, in the first two years after Labour takes office, it will be necessary to hold real wages at roughly their present levels until the economy can 'take off' from its present trough into a higher rate of productive increase."

Alas for the mirage of the transformation to be achieved in two years! And can we believe that a Labour government will have the hardihood to insist on a two-year wage freeze?

This resurgent desire to build Jerusalem, in our day, has become the controlling factor behind policy declarations – also for Conservative governments. In these past twelve years, Britain has been achieving an average annual increase in income of about 2 percent per capita, or 2.5 percent over-all. Yet in 1954 already a Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer was moved to say he could see no reason why the national living standard should not be *doubled* in 25 years. (As my mother would have said, "From his mouth, into God's ears.") More recently, and formally, the Macmillan government accepted the standard of a 4 percent rise per year. This is in a country where unemployment has always, since 1945, been under 2 percent, except for short periods at approximately five-year intervals (1947, 1952, 1958-59, 1962-63); where there is no large labor supply to withdraw from low-productivity agriculture; where population growth is projected below one-half percent per year; and where the working week for men in manufacturing is still characteristically 47 hours. Let there indeed be new things under the sun! But let it also be recalled that Britain has never achieved so rapid a rate of economic advance, as is here made the standard, in any long period. In the years 1851-1891, the growth of British national product per capita was about 1.9 percent per annum compounded. That is the best British accomplishment. Yet, under the exigent demands of an aroused social democracy, the Macmillan government has promised to do

The Man and the Moon

Ah moon, you old moist star,
why do you prying peep
into the room where I
am courting sleep?
Surely you've travelled far.
Now tell me why.

Suppose the devious beams
exposing me tonight
should press around your head
a garland-light.
You would not have bad dreams
so brightly dead.

O window, hold your place,
perform a barricade.
I'll lay my body bare
in your clear shade,
free from that full embrace
of pallid hair.

Knute Skinner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

something like twice as good.

The next British parliamentary election now seems likely to be a contest, in economic matters, largely between old Harold-in and young Harold-out. The Conservatives have even hastened to indicate their open-mindedness regarding taxation of capital (Swedish model?) and liberalization of social security payments (American model?). As *The New Statesman* has said, in that leader of March 8, 1963 which I cherish so highly, "The real issue, indeed, between Labour and the rest is one of some sophistication."

In 1945, sophistication was less indispensable. Before that General Election, the Labour Party published a statement of nationalization policy, in *Let Us Face the Future*. Public ownership was to be extended to the Bank of England: inland transport (rail, road, canal and air): most energy industries (coal, gas, and electricity – but not oil): and iron and steel. Telephone, telegraph, radio, international air and much housing were already publicly owned. And all of these industries, with the two exceptions of steel and part of road haulage, have been retained in public ownership by subsequent Conservative governments. (The Conservatives have also maintained the Labour-established National Health Service – "socialized medicine." It is too popular to permit tampering.) About 2.5 million people, out of a total labor force of 25 million, work in nationalized industries. These are industries of heavy capital requirements. Correspondingly, in 1960-62, under a Conservative government, public ownership accounted for 41 percent of all domestic fixed investment. Britain now has a large socialized sector.

The volume edited by Mr. Michael Shanks (and sponsored by the Fabian Society) attempts to distil wisdom from the experience of this socialized sector. Its contributors are sympathetic to public ownership and include four present or past Labour M.P.'s. Two chapters seem to me outstanding – that by Mark Abrams on "State Industry And The Public" and the one by Peter Lowell on "Lessons From Abroad." The discussion is characterized throughout by British fair-mindedness and good-temper. But it is not a weighty treatment. The book participates in a literary-political tradition of which it is easy to have too much. It does not press home any question of political power and control. And there is no analysis of the particular economic problem of even one nationalized industry. A reader gets the impression that the authors would not be interested in such things. Costs and returns are not their meat.

Nationalization was, of course, concentrated largely on sick industries. Nevertheless, the accusation of stodgy inefficiency hangs over the nationalized sector. The Electricity Authority alone is widely exempted from this accusation. But, even in this case, we would like to know more. How does the Electricity Authority's record of innovation, of service, and of efficiency compare with that of a private electricity giant like American Electric Power or Pacific Gas and Electric? The shrinking British nationalized rail service is, we are told, as bad as the shrinking American private rail-service; the British Government had to write off £400 million of railway capital, and selective reorganization is only beginning. The BOAC reportedly loses about £14 million a year on a government investment of £162 million. The nationalized coal industry is so high-cost that it would shrink drastically if exposed to a free market. (American coal imports would displace British production to the extent of many millions of tons. And British coal is losing markets massively to residual fuel oil, despite the imposition, since April 1961, of a tax on fuel oil equal to 35 percent or 40 percent residual oil's import cost.) Gifted people apparently do not commonly seek careers in nationalized industries. Mr. Shanks reports sorrowfully: "It is unrealistic to suppose that, in the short run, the nationalized industries can capture a big proportion of the nation's high flyers."

Disillusion has engulfed the hope that the old British class-riven society would give way to a new industrial democracy. Alas for the generous dream that the worker – in a nationalized industry – would overcome his "alienation" from work and find a new joy in participation! Mr. Shanks writes flatly: "Labour relations in the nationalized industries have certainly been no better, in fact in some cases they have been a good deal worse, than in the more advanced privately-owned industries. This has undoubtedly been one reason for the unpopularity of nationalization, both among the workers and the general public." The British worker regards his new public employer with the same querulous tension as his former private employer. He knows the bosses are still "them" and not "us." And he remains suspicious of any worker who is "too keen" on the job. In the British working class, as Mr. Tom Burns has written, "competition for jobs, for promotion or privileged positions – the serious concerns of the middle-class adult, are disapproved of. In their own sector of society and increasingly as they get older and hardened to their class position, success must be devalued as improper, as bought by sycophancy or by cheating." In this social alienation, nationalization has changed nothing.

Early in 1960, *Socialist Commentary* took a poll of the attitudes of British people on nationalization. Mr. Abrams summarizes:

> "Half the respondents were prepared to say that public ownership of electricity had been a success; one-third felt the same about atomic energy, the airlines and gas; but clear-cut majorities asserted that coal and the railways had been failures . . . [Further], when the sample was asked if any more industries should be publicly owned it voted almost seven to one against any extensions; even Labour supporters opposed them by nearly three to one."

In Britain, nationalization is not regarded with terror or enthusiasm. The dominant tone is one of sober, gray disappointment.

The preliminaries of the General Election, now being warmed up by the two Harolds, present fascinating images. Both candidates stress two ideas. First, I will bring forth a dazzling prosperity, and second, I will bring it especially to the righteous. The self-differentiating nuance calls for a sensitive ear. Harold Wilson asks the support of those who *earn* and do not merely *get*, while Harold Macmillan asks the suffrages of those who acknowledge their *duties* as

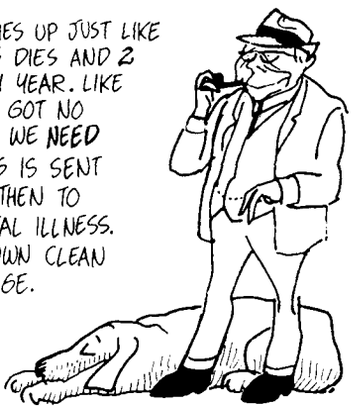
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

WELL SIR, JUST **ANOTHER** DAY IN **RANDOM** VILLAGE. HAVE TO **ADMIT** WE GOT STIRRED UP **WHEN** PRESIDENT KENNEDY MADE THAT **SPEECH** ABOUT US TO THEM NEWSPAPER EDITORS A FEW WEEKS BACK. BUT WE'RE SIMMERING DOWN AGAIN.

20 OF OUR **100** TOWNSPEOPLE ARE BACK IN THEIR DETERIORATED HOMES— **8** OF OUR **24** TEENAGERS ARE BACK TO QUITTIN' SCHOOL— **1** OUT OF **8** OF OUR FAMILIES IS STILL EARNIN' LESS THAN **$35** A WEEK. WE DON'T COTTON TO QUICK CHANGE HERE IN RANDOM VILLAGE.

SUN GOES DOWN AND COMES UP JUST LIKE IN **YOUR** TOWN. **1** OF US DIES AND **2** OF US GETS BORN EVERY YEAR. LIKE THE PRESIDENT SAID WE GOT NO DOCTOR HERE—NOT AS IF WE **NEED** ONE. **1** OUT OF **10** OF US IS SENT TO THE CITY NOW AND THEN TO GET TREATED FOR MENTAL ILLNESS. WE TRY TO KEEP OUR TOWN CLEAN HERE IN RANDOM VILLAGE.



10% OF OUR HOUSEHOLDS ARE RACIAL MINORITIES— GOOD PEOPLE, THOUGH. COMMIT SOME OF OUR CRIMES, BUT DON'T TRY TO VOTE OR MAKE **REAL** TROUBLE. LAST YEAR WHEN THE TOWN COUNCIL WANTED TO BUDGET NEW POLICE DOGS TO KEEP 'EM IN THEIR PLACE OUR CITIZENS TURNED IT DOWN. TOO **SOCIALIST**. EACH OF US BOUGHT HIS **OWN** POLICE DOG. ONE THING WE WON'T STAND FOR IN RANDOM VILLAGE IS GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE.

PROBABLY JUST LIKE YOUR TOWN WE GOT A WATER POLLUTION PROBLEM. WE DON'T **WHINE** ABOUT IT. SOME SAY IT TOUGHENS US FOR **AIR** POLLUTION. WE LIKE TO MAKE DO IN RANDOM VILLAGE.

©1963 JULES FEIFFER 6-2

GETTIN' **LATE**. TIME TO TURN IN. IN THE MORNING WE'LL BE 'WAKENED BY THE THWACK OF OUR RANDOM VILLAGE NEWSPAPER BEIN' THROWN AGAINST THE DOOR. WE'LL DRINK OUR MORNING COFFEE AND READ ABOUT WELFARE CHISELLING, CUBA AND TOO MUCH FOREIGN AID.

ANOTHER NORMAL DAY IN RANDOM VILLAGE.

The Hall Syndicate, Inc

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well as their *rights*. If anywhere, righteousness gleams with more freshly-applied polish on the Left. In this spirit, *The New Statesman* advises (March 22, 1963):

> "The shops are full; so are the prisons. Britain is now the gambling capital of the world, and in the wake of the gamblers come the high-class call-girls, 'models' and pimps. The provinces have to make do with Bingo halls, betting shops and 'businessmen's strip-tease clubs'.... In 1951 most people were tired of what they conceived to be undirected austerity, or rule by governess. Now they are in the mood of a man who has spent a night of wild debauch and longs for the domestic proprieties.... Mr. Wilson and his colleagues must offer the public a sincere sense of rectitude...."

To debit the above quotation to Mr. Harold Wilson's account, would not be fair. It does not even reflect the mind and values of *The New Statesman* at its best. (For *The New Statesman*, like the British Left generally, does have a part in Blake's inheritance!) Such statements bear witness rather to the indiscriminate clutching for straws of differentiation, in which a partisan does not abstain from charging the enemy with running a disorderly house. This search for a respectable differentiating characteristic, in turn, mirrors the mind of a Britain which, since 1945, has departed greatly from its old society but has not overcome its profound class separateness: which is not satisfied with what its economy has achieved, with nationalizations or without nationalizations: which does not dream of going back to more *laissez-faire* capitalism and yet does not know how to go forward. It is a far less invertebrate society than that of the United States but still, in respect to public policy, a society unassured and unhappy.

RECORDS

From Byrd to the Moderns

Writing about Parry's *Job* once, Bernard Shaw observed that the poem was one to tax the powers of Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven or Wagner but the composer was only Parry, and so there was "not one bar in it that comes within 50,000 miles of the tamest line in the poem." James Agee's prose piece *Knoxville: Summer of 1915* makes less demands than *Job;* but it does make demands: it calls for music which is not only related to the sense of the words but, like the words, achieves great intensity by quiet understatement. But these words set in motion, in Samuel Barber, a musical imagination that operates in its own way and its own terms – a way and terms that do not achieve intensity by understatement. And so in the Barber setting of the piece on Columbia ML-5843 one hears melody fussing or curving luxuriantly around words of the utmost quiet ("We all lie there, my mother, my father, my uncle, my aunt, and I too am lying there"); or one hears violent outbursts or build-ups to points of climax in the music where there are none in the words ("One is an artist, he is living at home. One is a musician, she is living at home. One is my mother who is good to me. One is my father who is good to me."). Moreover, the music, though irrelevant or contradictory to the text, could be impressive in itself; but Barber's music here, as elsewhere, is that of a man who can fit sounds into progressions which go from a beginning to an end, and which from beginning to end present nothing that is fresh or individual and as such worth attention. Eleanor Steber's beautiful performance of *Knoxville* with an orchestra led by William Strickland occupies only part of the second side of ML-5843; and the rest of the record has her performance of Berlioz's *Les Nuits d' Eté* with an orchestra led by Mitropoulos, originally on Columbia ML-4940. If Berlioz had written nothing but these songs he would have proved himself to be one of the greatest masters; and the vocal opulence and expressive force of Steber's performance make it the one to have. But one should get it on ML-4940, where it is free of the added artificial resonance that gives it a fake gloss and excessive reverberation on ML-5843, and where it comes with other beautiful songs of Berlioz.

I regret having to report that I heard nothing of interest in the modern American works on Columbia ML-5821 (mono): Romeo Cascarino's Sonata for bassoon and piano, Alvin Etler's Sonata for the same instruments, Goddard Lieberson's String Quartet, and Kenneth Gaburo's *Line Studies*.

Several fine works of Byrd – the Mass for five voices, the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* from the Great Service, and the motet *Ave verum corpus* – are sung beautifully by the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, under David Willcocks' direction on London 5725 and OS-25725. And the engaging Vivaldi *Gloria* on Angel 36003 (mono) is sung well by the Roger Wagner Chorale and soloists with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra. Completing the second side is the contemporary Belgian composer Flor Peeters' *Entrata Festiva*, which I don't care for.

Music Guild M-31 (mono) has Alfredo Valenti's powerful harpsichord performances of a number of unfamiliar Scarlatti sonatas – Longo Nos. 498, 406, 456, 106, 249, 401, 198 – several of them characteristically engaging and one of them, No. 401, building up extraordinary tension and power in its unusual length as Valenti plays it. And M-37 (mono) has his performances of Rameau's Suite in E minor, an assemblage of pieces – some of them charming – from his *Prémier Livre de Pièces de Clavecin*, Handel's small-scale and moderately engaging Suite in D minor, and Bach's English Suite in A minor, which has its dull moments.

Mozart's Serenade K.361 is performed by wind-players of the Bavarian Radio Orchestra under Jochum, on Deutsche Grammophon 18-830 and 138-830, with admirable refinement of tone and phrasing; and Jochum paces the beautiful Adagio more effectively than Rob-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ert Craft did on Columbia ML-5744 and MS-6344. But the Columbia records offered a bonus in the fascinating Webern orchestrations of six German Dances of Schubert.

Columbia M2L-282 (mono only) has Sviatoslav Richter's all-Prokofiev recital in Carnegie Hall on October 23, 1960, in which he plays the Sonata No. 6, the Sonatine Pastorale and *Paysage* Op. 59 and *Pensée III* Op. 62, and the Sonata No. 8. I find these less interesting than other works of Prokofiev; but Richter's articulation and shaping of them is a masterly operation. Not that even this superb playing justifies the extravagance of the press comments quoted in the album; and still less do the performances of Schumann's fine *Papillons* and Sonata in G minor and less interesting *Faschingschwank aus Wien* on Angel 36104, which were recorded at recitals in Italy in 1962. In these the playing is that of a highly-accomplished musician and pianist, but an erratic one who every now and then startles one with an exaggeratedly slow or fast tempo that doesn't justify itself by its effect in the music.

Karl Boehm, we are informed, has conducted Mozart's *Cosi Fan Tutte* hundreds of times; and all these performances presumably have exhibited the occasional insufficient animation of the one on Angel 3631 (mono). One hears it right at the start in the overture and the opening trio of the men – both of which are more effective in von Karajan's faster tempos in the earlier performance on Angel 3522. Moreover this trio as sung by Alfredo Kraus, Giuseppe Taddei and Walter Berry in the new performance is not the ear-ravishing thing it is made by the beautiful voices of Simoneau, Panerai and Bruscantini in the earlier one: Taddei's baritone is a fine one, though not that of a young man; but Kraus' tenor isn't pleasant and doesn't flow easily; and Berry's bass also is unattractive. Even with the good singing of Schwarzkopf and Christa Ludwig in the new performance, then, the earlier one, with Schwarzkopf and Nan Merriman, is preferable.

I have in the past suggested Mahler's genial Symphony No. 4 as the door through which to enter the Mahler world; and to someone who has done this and found that world worth exploring I suggest the Symphony No. 2 (*Resurrection*), which is much larger in scale and expressive range. It is one of the works in which Mahler uses large orchestral and vocal forces, but always with purpose, precision and fastidiousness in the fashioning of textures that are at once complex and clear; and in which at every moment, in everything that happens, one hears a mind actively at work in individual, unexpected and fascinating ways. There has been the superbly effective performance of Bruno Walter, to which is now added the superb performance of Klemperer on Angel 3634 (mono), with the Philharmonia Orchestra and Chorus, Schwarzkopf and Hilde Roessl-Majdan. As for recorded sound, I hear superiority in that of the Klemperer performance at two points: the chorale in the last movement, where the sound of the brass is deeper, and the conclusion, where the sonority is greater.

B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

Meanwhile, Back at the Nile...

Walter Wanger, the producer, has published a book called *My Life with Cleopatra* (Bantam; 60 cents – and worth every penny), his diary of the five-year, $37 million making of the four-hours-plus spectacle. Anyone interested in films – particularly in the hothouse forcing of human foible by the heat of multi-million budgets – will be fascinated by this account. In 1959 Elizabeth Taylor agreed to play the title role and asked for a million dollars (initial guarantee). Says Wanger: "When I said that a million dollars was an unheard-of price for an actress, she said that I knew as well as she did that this was going to be a long, hard picture." The air of sober, straightforward justness is fetching. Miss Taylor proved to be right, as everyone knows. What she did not predict is that, proportionately, it is also a long, hard job for the audience.

Cleopatra (20th Century-Fox)
Hand in the Trap (Angel)

The film has a few rewards. There is some splendid spectacle, notably the opening shots of Pharsalia and those of Cleopatra's barge. Some of the dialogue by Joseph L. Mankiewicz is, to put it negatively, not heavy. But his script never develops an inner dynamism that propels it; the succession of large scenes, though historically inevitable, has the effect of new tricks continually thought up by Mankiewicz to keep our attention from wandering. As he has said recently and as Shaw and Shakespeare knew, there are two stories here, not one. The film ought to be split. Part One contains the one sustained performance by a leading actor, Rex Har-

TO MEN WHO JUST "CAN'T LEARN" MATH!

More and more in our dynamic economy, a knowledge of basic mathematics pays off!

Whether in Engineering, Electronics, Mechanics, Construction, Pure Science, etc.—or in Estimating, or Trade and Finance, or Buying and Selling, etc.—the man who gets there *fastest* with the *mostest*, MATH-WISE, is likely to be rewarded *handsomest!*

Fortunately, there now exists, in a single volume of 240 fact-packed pages (including 195 clarifying illustrations), a basic source in mathematics, from arithmetic to the calculus, arranged logically and in order of difficulty. Explanations of principles are followed by worked examples.

This one-volume math "library" economizes not only your money but, more important, your *time*. Amazingly, the author, with a rare talent for simplifying the complicated, covers the whole gamut: treatment of fractions, decimals, square root and cube root, logarithms, progression averages, interest, algebra, equations, graphs, plane and solid geometry, trigonometry, differential and integral calculus; useful mathematical tables; summary of mathematical formulas, etc., etc.

This remarkable work which already has aided thousands, will be of enormous help not only to those who have forgotten their mathematics but also to those now acquiring it. You may try it out at our risk. *ORDER NOW.*

A REFRESHER COURSE IN MATHEMATICS
by F. J. Camm
240 Pages ● 195 Illustrations
2.95 Postfree ● 10-Day Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 760-M
251 W. 19th Street, New York 11

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rison's Caesar; and Part Two contains what the scandal-sheet readers have been waiting for.

Harrison's Caesar is authoritative, dexterous, thoroughly believable. If it is not much more than a good Harrison performance, rather than another of his several extraordinary ones, there is not much opportunity for anything more in the script. And since he has to carry the figurative weight of Cleopatra in his scenes with her, we can be grateful for what we get from him. Richard Burton, always a somewhat saturnine actor, never seems the bright Antony of the early days (granted that the script does not develop that aspect greatly). It is only when Antony becomes a sodden, self-pitying sell-out that the part moves into Burton's temperamental range. In the last hour or so, he is sound. Miss Taylor is a plump, young American matron in a number of Egyptian costumes and makeups. She has presumably been carefully coached by Mankiewicz, who also directed, and she tries earnestly to obey him. But the simulacrum of acting that he was able to build with her in *Suddenly Last Summer* is absent here. She needs do no more than walk across the throne room to turn Alexandria into Beverly Hills.

Perhaps her failure is like Samson's – connected with her hair. Wanger writes of a transoceanic crisis about a hairdresser named Guilaroff during the first, aborted filming in England. He got a cable from Miss Taylor, saying: "MUST CONFIRM SIDNEY GUILAROFF POSITION IMMEDIATELY OR HE WILL BE LOST AND THIS CANNOT HAPPEN REGARDS." Although it led to difficulties with unions and conferences with high labor officials, Guilaroff was brought to England. However, on the second, finished picture, Miss Taylor's hair stylist was Vivienne Zavitz. Guilaroff, it seems, *was* lost. Or perhaps all the actors were just plain nervous. Wanger notes in his entry of September 2, 1961:

> "Before we got to Rome a deal had been made with Prince Borghese to rent his private beach at Anzio for $150,000. After we started to build the Alexandria set there we found the beach was the one where the Allied troops landed. It was still mined! . . . We had to call in demolition experts to lug live ammunition away. . . . All we need is to have a shell blow up and hurt some of our people!"

And then Wanger learned that the beach was "next door to the NATO firing range."

This comedy of large and small errors is the longest picture ever made and the most expensive, and is thus a tinsel landmark. Except for the veracity of Harrison's performance, some of Burton's moments, and the solidity of Martin Landau's Rufio, the tedium is only occasionally lightened by the laughable vulgarity of the display. Yet this may be one of the few films that gets better with age since, evidently, it was released in an unfinished state. On the day of the opening Mankiewicz said that it was his "firm conviction – and I believe Darryl Zanuck agrees – that the film should be cut. This will probably be done as soon as I have a chance to get to it."

Mankiewicz's appointments permitting, the picture may improve.

The work of the Argentine director Leopoldo Torre Nilsson is sometimes quite attractive but is sooner or later disappointing. Of the five films that I have seen previously, the best was *The Fall*, which touches the James-William Golding-Richard Hughes theme of wickedness in children. The children were handled excellently and the film was technically impressive, but the result was thematically and dramatically vacuous. *Summerskin* had skill and mood, but its resolution was unconvincing. Two of the films, *Seventy Times Seven* and *The Kidnapper*, become bankrupt earlier. The former is a grim triangle in near-primitive Patagonia about two rough men and a popsie who, in this rugged, windy country, wears a very low-cut dress and unfailing eye makeup. In the latter film, one of the many, many dramatic highlights is a scene in which a pig eats a baby.

Now comes *Hand in the Trap* which won the Critics Prize at Cannes in 1961. Like his earlier *End of Innocence*, it is a story of a woman traumatized by amorous experience. A girl spends a summer with two aunts in their large house in a small town. In the attic is supposed to be a deformed illegitimate half-brother of hers whom she has never seen. She discovers that it is really another aunt, generally believed to be in the USA, who took to the attic and living death after being jilted by a local buck who had seduced her. This buck, still quite passable, subsequently seduces the niece and establishes

for the first time
the story as seen
from the other side . . .

THE FURTIVE WAR

The United States in Vietnam and Laos

by WILFRED G. BURCHETT

A first-hand report by the veteran Australian war correspondent who traveled widely in the "Viet Cong" guerrilla areas of South Vietnam and in Laos, Cambodia, and North Vietnam. He interviewed opposition and neutralist leaders, refugees from Diem's prisons and "strategic villages," Buddhist priests, rebel US-trained officers, the Princes of Laos, President Ho Chi Minh and many others. He tells us what they want, why "our side" is losing, and why neutrality and independence for Laos and Vietnam may still be possible.

$3.95

A STORY NO REPORTER HAS YET TOLD! A REVEALING AND UNPRECEDENTED BOOK!

From your bookshop or direct from

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 Park Avenue South
New York 16, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her in an apartment in Buenos Aires.

The Brontean overtones are no more than that. Torre Nilsson films have a certain sheen that derives from their reflections of their artistic sources, but they never have intact lives or even sense of their own. This film is filled with silly romanticizing instead of the melancholy romanticism at which it aims. Torre Nilsson has some technical talents, but he lacks the artistic intelligence to guide them. He remains a director who needs a director.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

Eichmann in Jerusalem

Sirs:

Bruno Bettelheim writes a long philosophic, psychological cogitative thesis on Hannah Arendt's book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* in the June 15 *New Republic*. He supports her proposition that somehow, some way, Eichmann was abused and treated badly. The fact remains that six million civilian corpses were strewn over Europe; the fact remains that Eichmann headed the organization whose objective it was to turn six million (even more, if possible) inoffensive, unarmed, helpless human beings into those six million corpses, but this does not bother Professor Bettelheim at all. He spreads over these corpses words, words, words. He speaks of totalitarianism, psychiatry, *kadavergehorsam*.

Who was responsible for this mass butchery which should sicken the stomach of anyone who has a stomach, and a heart, and a brain to understand responsibility? Bettelheim does not exclude the possibility that the victims themselves were somehow at fault, as if they might perhaps have locked themselves up in freight cars, shipped themselves to the gassing halls and there thrust the fatal nozzles into their throats.

Bettelheim cannot understand how Eichmann was much at fault. He says that "essentially all he did was to talk to people, write memoranda, receive and give orders from behind a desk." Can anything be more absurd? What were those orders of which Bettelheim speaks so casually? They were orders to kill innocent human beings! What did Adolf Hitler do but sit behind a desk and give orders to murder the peace and, with it, vast populations and a civilization we may never know again. Would Professor Bettelheim excuse Hitler because it was not proved that he ever actually individually took the life of a human being with his own hands?

Professor Bettelheim says that Eichmann did not know that what he was doing was wrong because there were no voices to arouse his conscience. Rudolf Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz, testified in Nuremberg that he knew when the people in the gas chambers were dead when they no longer screamed. Eichmann saw Jews marching into gas chambers of death. What kind of a hearing aid did he need so that their screams would register on his conscience and inform him they had done nothing for which to die? Professor Bettelheim says that if he heard a few screams, this would evoke in him "deep anxiety and a desire to help," but if he heard "hours of screaming without end," this would lead him "only to wish that the screamer would shut up." The screamers did eventually shut up. Six million of them.

And now, Professor Bettelheim quarrels because there are people in Israel and in Jewish as well as non-Jewish homes throughout the world who look upon those six million as having suffered martyrdom. He says this is wrong because Webster defines a martyr as a person "who voluntarily suffers death as the penalty of witnessing to and refusing to renounce his religion or a principle." If Professor Bettelheim will look up the word "martyrdom" in Webster's dictionary he will find that Webster says that martyrdom is "the suffering of death on account of adherence to the Christian faith, *or to any cause*." The six million died because they were *Jews*, and for no other reason. And non-Jews as well as Jews should place the blame where blame belongs for this unspeakable outrage against humanity and not seek to evade facts by speaking of orientation, images and all the metempirical abstrusenesses and nebulosities, looking to minimizing a crime without

AN

ACCOMMODATION FROM

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Briefly:

you may purchase any book recently reviewed in *The New Republic* for 20 percent less than its retail price. Some of these books are listed in the coupon (below) with the bookstore prices and the lower rates to which you are entitled as a reader of *The New Republic*.

Your check must accompany the order. (We cannot bill you, because the bookkeeping and clerical costs would be prohibitive.)

You may order direct from us, as shown below. *Mail to*

THE NEW REPUBLIC
shipping department
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Please send me a copy of each book I have checked off below.

☐ Arendt: *Eichmann*
(retail price – $5.50) PRICE: $4.40

☐ Bazelon: *The Paper Economy*
(retail price – $6.95) PRICE: $5.56

☐ Hughes: *The Ordeal of Power*
(retail price – $5.95) PRICE: $4.76

☐ Twain: *Letters from the Earth*
(retail price – $5.95) PRICE: $4.76

☐ Callaghan: *That Summer in Paris*
(retail price – $5.00) PRICE: $4.00

☐ Burns: *Deadlock of Democracy*
(retail price – $5.95) PRICE: $4.76

TOTAL:_____*

* My check for this amount is enclosed.

Name_____
(please print)

Street_____

City_____ Zone___ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"...Brash, Bawdy, Delightful..."
JUDITH CRIST, N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
The Establishment
LONDON'S SATIRICAL REVUE
DINNER FROM 7 PM.
TWO SHOWS NIGHTLY: 9:00 & 11:30 PM
MAIL & PHONE RESERVATIONS PL 2-4711
Strollers Theatre-Club, 154 EAST 54TH

SERENDIPITY - What is it? Try us and see. Black and white photo finishing non-automated at automation prices, 5x7 - 33c; 8x10 - 42c; 11x14 - 95c; new negative 60c. 20 percent discount on Kodachrome developing by Kodak. Foto Portrait Co., 1174 Ogden Ave., New York City 42.

333 EUROPEAN HOTELS
140 cities, 19 countries covered in handy list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, Addresses.
BON VOYAGE $1.
Box 24684NR
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

CLUBS, GROUPS, ETC. Travel expert will arrange your tour, anywhere in Europe. Personally conducted, economical, why worry? Leave your travel problems to me. Write—Morris, Lista de Correos, San Antonio Abad, Ibiza, Spain.

ESPERANTO, THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE
"Teach Yourself" Kit $4
correspondence course $6, information free:
Young Esperantists of North America
30 Avenue B
New York 9, New York

FURNISHED FARMHOUSE FOR RENT beginning July. 100 miles New York, 40 miles Philadelphia. 4 bedrooms, kitchen, dining room, living room. Charming location, pond, swimming pool, all conveniences. Hidden Valley Farm, R.D. East Greenville, Pa. Tel. 215-679-9764.

LITTLE BLUE BOOKS
15c Each — 2,000 Titles
Free Catalogue
LARSON'S BOOKS
Box 215-A
Cannon Falls, Minn.

CASH AVAILABLE for autographs, documents, signed letters and photographs of famous persons. Fackler & Co., 8611 Kinmore, Dearborn 6, Mich.

BLUEPRINT FOR NEW SOCIETY ERA (1972) Social equilibrium, constructive whole. Read "THIS MATURING WORLD," 50c. Free literature. (Companion, co-worker needed) J. Wolfson, 1126 Ftely, Bronx 72, N. Y.

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills
$1.00 Complete
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

CLASSIFIED RATES
Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year.....10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year..... 9c
Per word 48 times in one contract year..... 8c
NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

parallel in all the annals of the law.

In his metaphysical speculations, Bettelheim stumbles over the most obvious facts, and the most conspicuous realities. He says, for instance, that the trial had many shortcomings, specifying that "the witnesses had their day in court, but *hardly the accused.*" This can only be termed educated poppycock. The fact of the matter is that Eichmann was on the witness stand from June 20 to July 24, 1961, for a total of thirty-three and a half sessions! And he could have remained there longer if he had anything more to say. Never was a defendant given a greater opportunity to exculpate himself.

Thus, whatever philosophical conclusions Bettelheim intends to project in his article can have but little consequence in appraising the Eichmann case because of facts he has ignored and others he has misinterpreted. I believe that Bettelheim could have written a shorter article and one more vastly interesting if he had directly answered the inevitable but simple question: What would he have done with Adolf Eichmann?

Michael A. Musmanno
Pennsylvania Supreme Court

In reply:

Justice Musmanno has written a very emotional letter in reaction to a review that I tried to keep as rational as I could. While I believe that emotions in this case are more than justified, they are likely to prevent us from seeing a phenomenon in its true perspective. Considering Hitler's and Eichmann's deeds, it comes naturally to want to cry out, "Murder most foul . . . cruel and unnatural," but those who wish to learn from past events for the future cannot afford to permit themselves the luxury of being carried away by their feelings.

As in his original *New York Times* review of Arendt's book, Justice Musmanno accuses a writer of having said what he did not say, and then proceeds to demolish him on the basis of such erroneous claim. For example, he accuses me of having implied that the victims shipped themselves to the gas chambers, while my entire thesis was that one has to take a stand long before such a point has been reached. I wrote my book, *The Informed Heart,* and I wrote the review, because of my conviction that we all must recognize that once we permit ourselves to be rounded up, we are no longer able to fight and we have made ourselves into passive victims. That is why I discussed the problem: "At which point is an individual still able to save his soul and perhaps also his life, although enveloped by a totalitarian society?"

Justice Musmanno equally distorts what I wrote about the absence of voices. Any comparison between my review and his interpretation of it will show this.

As far as the reading of *Webster's Dictionary* is concerned, I would suggest that Justice Musmanno reconsult *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* (1963). I used *martyr* as a noun, and I herewith quote in full *Webster's* definition (italics mine):

> "1: one who *voluntarily* suffers death as the penalty of witnessing to and refusing to renounce his religion or a tenet, principle, or practice belonging to it; modern-day missionary martyrs; 2: one who sacrifices his life, station, or what is of great value *for the sake of principle* or to sustain a cause; 3a: a great or constant sufferer (as from disease); a martyr to rheumatism; b: one who adopts a specious air of suffering or deprivation esp. as a means of attracting sympathy or attention."

In this sense I claimed that the Jews were not *martyrs.* Justice Musmanno refers to a definition of *martyrdom,* but this definition too rests on the meaning of the word martyr, since *Webster's* defines martyrdom as follows: "1: the state of being a martyr . . ." This is what happens when a man as familiar as Justice Musmanno must be with the rules of evidence gets carried away by emotions. First he exchanges martyrdom for martyr, then disregards *Webster's* definition of *martyr* on which his definition of *martyrdom* rests, and finally provides his own unacknowledged emphasis to the last four words in a definition, in this way misreading *Webster's.* I as a scientist cannot afford to do so.

Similarly, Justice Musmanno overlooks the fact that I never claimed to have been present at the trials or to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have studied the trial records. It is the reviewer's privilege to believe that which he feels was convincingly demonstrated in the book he reviews. I reviewed Arendt's book and in so doing drew occasionally on my own experiences. It is Arendt's opinion, as I read her book, that Eichmann's trial was not the fairest as trials go, and that the witnesses had their days in court. What is important is not the number of sessions Eichmann was in the witness stand to be questioned by his accusors, but the fact that the witnesses for the prosecution were given very wide scope while many potential witnesses for the defense were not granted the immunity they would have needed to appear in court at all.

That Justice Musmanno is curious about what I would have done with Eichmann only suggests that his emotionalism prevented him from reading all of my article, because I very clearly state in the second to the last paragraph what would have been my solution to the problem.

Bruno Bettelheim
University of Chicago

Salt

Sirs:

Albert Goldman begins his "review" of Herbert Gold's novel *Salt* (June 8) by informing us that Gold "is, at 39, one of the most successful young writers in America." If Goldman keeps going, we can predict with ease that he will be, at a tender age, one of the most successful book reviewers in the same region; for he certainly has mastered all the crucial, epicene gimmicks necessary to avoid direct confrontation with the work he is possibly being paid to review. He does everything but get to the novel itself; he laudably attacks *Playboy*, literary fellowships, sick-comics, and American "love." He somehow confuses the opinions of one character with those of Mr. Gold; and, best of all, Goldman steadily calls attention to his own cleverness at the expense of a fine novel. When a reviewer tells us that "as even the barest summary of this so-called novel relieves the critics of the burden of discussing its merits . . ." we recognize another young critic on the make. May I suggest that Herbert Gold is not always a splendid writer; but he has produced enough good work to be treated with seriousness. *Salt* seems to me to have caught the rhythm of the intense, panic-filled, uncertain lives of a few very interesting people. And, Gold, unlike so many of his age, takes chances when he writes. Goldman doesn't. How easy to destroy a book without discussing it. Goldman will undoubtedly be heard from in the future. He can't miss.

Charles Shapiro
New York, N. Y.

Goodman and TV

Sirs:

Paul Goodman is one of the reasons I subscribe to *The New Republic*. And today I paused in my reading of "Growing Up Absurd" to read your June 8 issue before the June 15 issue arrives and they begin to stack up again. Mr. Goodman's "Sick Beside the Screen" is an excellent comment, and I'm going to keep it handy for my literate friends who waste so much time and mind on "the good things on television." Thanks for Paul Goodman.

Martin Fass
Champaign, Illinois

I want to thank Mr. Martin. But I have given up the TV-page as a regular assignment. There *is* something irrelevant in always discussing the *institution* of TV instead of the programs, which, no doubt, most readers are interested in. Like many very severe critics, I am motivated by disappointed love. This remarkable medium could be so beautiful and useful that it is too painful to consider it as it is. Whenever I have some practical thoughts for its improvement, I shall certainly send them to *The New Republic*.

Paul Goodman
New York, N. Y.

CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE
FOLK PRINTS
Authenticated by Folkcraft Center of Japan
Excellent for collectors, gifts, framing, etc.
Limited editions. $6.00-$7.50
Illustrated catalogue, airmail, $1.00
(creditable against first order)
ADACHI INSTITUTE
CPO BOX 362
TOKYO, JAPAN

Any Book
Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.
Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N. J.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

SUBSCRIPTION AGENTS WANTED! Radical, Intellectual, Social publications from left to right. Best commissions. Work in spare time at home. Estalished Firm. Free brochure. Wilcox Subscription Agency, Box 398, Lawrence, Kansas.

BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU!

A MOBILE that is Timely, tantalizing, topical. Hang in your den, office, living room.
$2.00 postpaid
T. Beaubien Healy
2062 Robinwood, Toledo 2, Ohio

SUBLET FURNISHED APARTMENT, July and August, New York City. Separate Bedroom. $145. Write Benedict, 143 East 35th Street, New York City.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

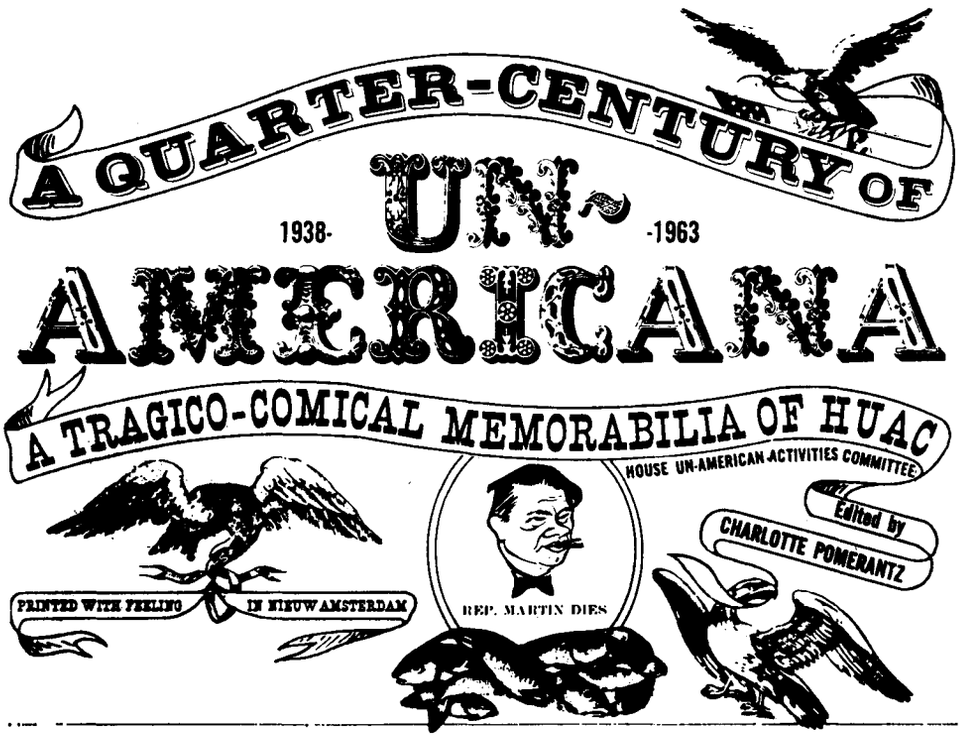
L'EXPRESS
The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Printed by National Publishing Co.
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From **JAMES BALDWIN'S** *Envoi:* **"HUAC is one of the most sinister facts of the national life. It is not merely that we do not need this committee; the truth is, we cannot afford it."**



FOREWORD BY PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON, ENVOI BY JAMES BALDWIN AND WITH WRITINGS AND QUOTATIONS, MOSTLY RESPECTABLE, BY AUTHORITIES TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION, WITH ART AND CARTOONS, MOSTLY INCOMPARABLE, BY: *Shahn • Vicky • Pierotti Crawford • Gropper • Gellert • Bastian • Interlandi • Lowell • Gwathmey Hanley • Haynie • Young • Crane • Little • Wright • Ormes • Marcus Hungerford • Arnautoff • Broudbecker • Price • Collins • Moore • York Coulthard • Ellis • Renault • Partisan • Partymiller • Perpich • Evergood Harari • Pratt • Gray • Lewis* • MARZANI & MUNSELL, PUBLISHERS

MARZANI and MUNSELL Dept. NR
100 West 23rd Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Send me A QUARTER CENTURY OF UN-AMERICANA.
- ☐ Enclosed $4.75 for cloth bound copy.
- ☐ Enclosed $2.50 for paperback.
- ☐ SPECIAL 3 Paperbacks for $6.

Name .....
Address .....
City ....., Zone ..... State.....

Edited by
Charlotte Pomerantz

●

PATRICK E. GORMAN:

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO

A much needed stimulus to the cause of freedom and decency. It ought to be read by every citizen and especially by every believer in real democracy. A long overdue contribution to the essential sanity of the nation.

NORMAN THOMAS:

Original, entertaining, and effective.

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH:

A Quarter Century of Un-Americana should make millions of Americans laugh, but not without shame; and not one praise without consequences.

DAGMAR WILSON:

Women Strike for Peace

I await an explosion – an explosion of laughter that will be heard round the world when people at last perceive their needless enslavement to institutions that enshrine prejudice.

CAREY McWILLIAMS:

A Quarter-Century of Un-Americana is a brilliant achievement. My congratulations, in particular, to Charlotte Pomerantz for her diligence and insight in assembling this superb cartoon record which is, indeed, Americana (un-Americana, that is) of a very special kind. It is at once a surprising and refreshing experience to discover, in these pages, the scope and intensity of the feeling against the inquisitorial committees.

The Reverend FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH:

Any book that portrays in detail the sordid and unsavory activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is a valuable asset to true Americanism. My impression of HUAC is that it is like a man who builds a fire on the floor of his living room and destroys his own house thereby. This fire can destroy the whole structure of our democracy if it is not stopped.

AUBREY WILLIAMS:

National Committee to Abolish HUAC

A delight – replete with indigination, defiance, essential material, and many a belly laugh as cartoonists caricature the imbecilities of this committee.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL:

A Quarter-Century of Un-Americana is a brilliant exposition of the noxious three-ring circus HUAC has always been.

Professor ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN:

Your characterizations of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and your ridicule of it, seem to me fully justified and much needed. I hope the book attracts wide attention.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED